



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

ANDOVER-HARVARD LIBRARY



AH 4VP6 7

Harvard Depository  
Brittle Book

~~scribble~~  
2

7

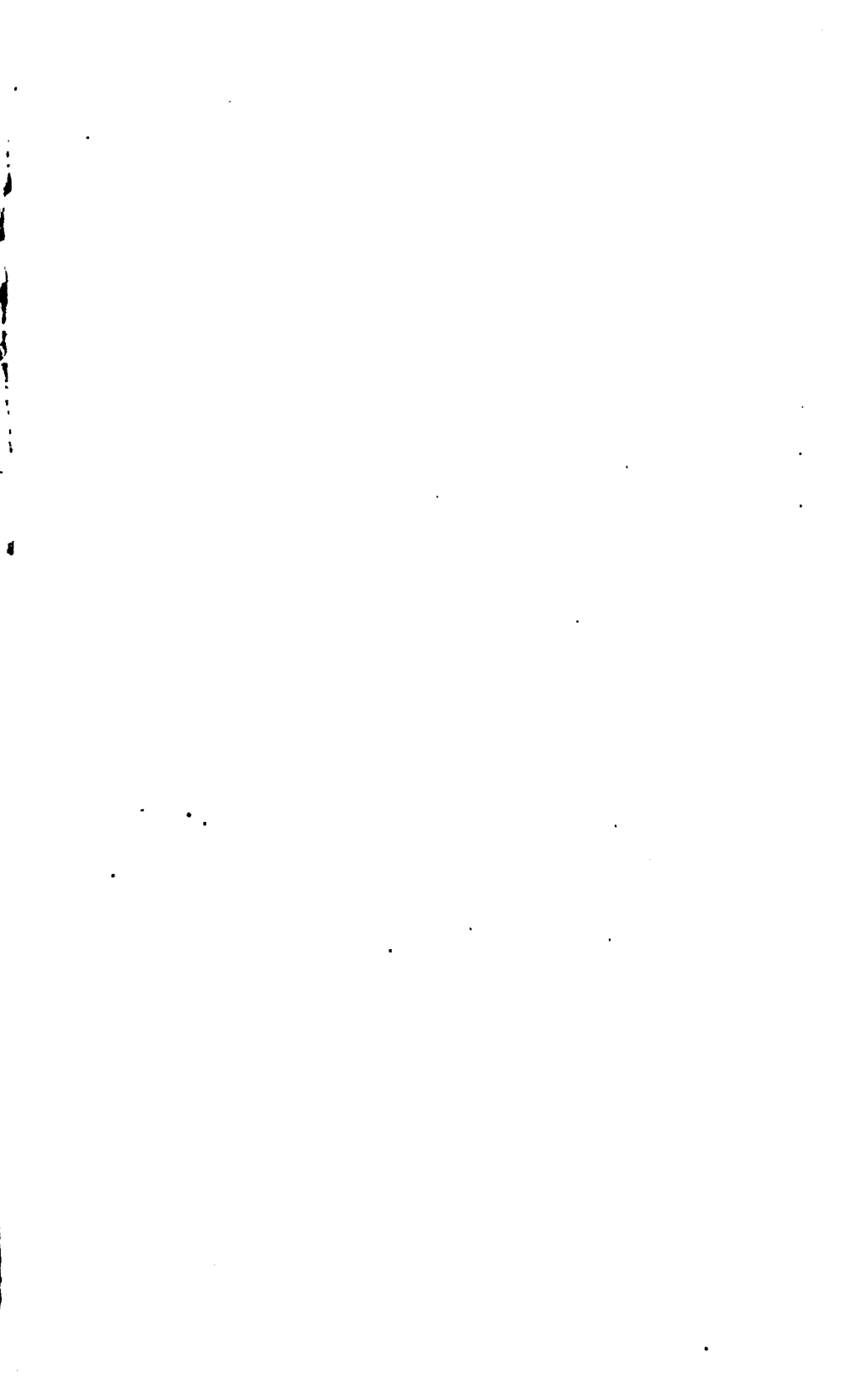


Rev. Joseph Slater.

1833 Hilsean  
 (1833)

יחזק







# THE LAW OF MOSES

VIEWS IN CONNECTION

WITH THE

HISTORY AND CHARACTER OF THE JEW<sup>S</sup>,

WITH

A DEFENCE OF THE BOOK OF JOSHUA

AGAINST

PROFESSOR LEO OF BERLIN:

BEING

THE HULSEAN LECTURES FOR 1833.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

AN APPENDIX CONTAINING REMARKS ON THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE HISTORICAL SCRIPTURES

ADOPTED BY

GESENIUS, DE WETTE, AND OTHERS.

---

BY HENRY JOHN ROSE, B.D.

FELLOW OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE.

---

CAMBRIDGE:

PRINTED AT THE PITT PRESS, BY JOHN SMITH,  
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY:

FOR J. G. & F. RIVINGTON, LONDON;  
J. & J. J. DEIGHTON; AND T. STEVENSON, CAMBRIDGE.

M.DCCC.XXXIV,



39,575

TO THE  
VERY REV. JAMES WOOD, D.D.  
DEAN OF ELY, AND MASTER OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE;

TO THE  
REV. CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D.  
MASTER OF TRINITY COLLEGE;

AND TO THE  
REV. WILLIAM WEBB, D.D.  
MASTER OF CLARE HALL,  
VICE-CHANCELLOR IN THE YEAR 1852-3 :

*THESE LECTURES,*  
DELIVERED BY THEIR APPOINTMENT, ARE INSCRIBED  
IN TOKEN OF  
UNFEIGNED RESPECT FOR THE MANY EMINENT QUALITIES  
AND THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE VIRTUES  
BY WHICH THEY ADORN THEIR HIGH ACADEMICAL STATIONS,  
AS WELL AS  
IN SINCERE GRATITUDE  
FOR A LONG SERIES OF KINDNESSES.





SUBSTANCE OF CERTAIN CLAUSES IN THE WILL OF  
THE REV. JOHN HULSE, M.A.

[Dated July 21, 1777.]

HE founds a Lectureship in the University of Cambridge.

The Lecturer to be a 'Clergyman in the University of Cambridge, of the degree of Master of Arts, and under the age of forty years.' He is to be *elected annually* 'on Christmas-day, or within seven days after, by the Vice-Chancellor for the time being, and by the Master of Trinity College, and the Master of St John's College, or any two of them.' In case the Master of Trinity, or the Master of St John's, be the Vice-Chancellor, the Greek Professor is to be the third Trustee.

The Duty of the said Lecturer is, by the Will, 'to preach *twenty* Sermons in the whole year,' at 'Saint Mary's Great Church in Cambridge;' but the number having been found inconvenient, application was made to the Court of Chancery for leave to reduce it, and *eight* Sermons only are now required. These are to be printed at the Preacher's expence, within twelve months after the delivery of the last Sermon.

The subject of the Lectures is to be 'the Evidence for Revealed Religion; the Truth and Excellence of Christianity; Prophecies and Miracles; direct or collateral Proofs of the Christian Religion, especially the collateral arguments; the more difficult texts, or obscure parts of the Holy Scriptures;' or any one, or more of these topics, at the discretion of the Preacher.



# CONTENTS.

---

## INTRODUCTION.

	PAGE
OBJECT of these Lectures—Modern views of the philosophy of history —Professor Leo—the Pentateuch—Dr Hartmann—Conclusion .....	ix

## LECTURE I.

Introduction—Two difficulties arising from the lateness of the Gospel obviated—The Law a Schoolmaster—How this expression is to be understood .....	1
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---

## LECTURE II.

Defence of the Antiquity of the Book of Joshua against Professor Leo ...	19
--------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

## LECTURE III.

Defence of Joshua continued—Dr Gramberg, and other modern critics...	55
----------------------------------------------------------------------	----

## LECTURE IV.

Banishment of Idolatry from Judea by means of the Law .....	97
-------------------------------------------------------------	----

## LECTURE V.

Definition of terms—Effects of the Law in giving consistency to the Jewish nation, and in producing the return of the Jews from Cap- tivity .....	120
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

## LECTURE VI.

The effects of the Law in securing a religious education to the Jewish people—Schools of the Law—the rise of the Oral Law—and the consequent corruption of the word of God .....	139
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

## LECTURE VII.

The Law and the Promise—The Jewish interpretation of the Promise— The Law transitory—the Gospel eternal—Future dealings of God— Caution respecting our judgment of them—Modern claims to gifts, and views of the Millennial period .....	PAGE 162
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------

## LECTURE VIII.

## THANKSGIVING SERMON FOR THE REMOVAL OF THE CHOLERA.

The Christian view of affliction opposed to the Stoic—National judgments—Voltaire's verses on the earthquake at Lisbon—Conclusion.....	184
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

## APPENDIX (A).

Chronological arrangement of the Historical Books of the Old Testament by different modern critics—with remarks on the principles by which they support their opinions.....	202
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

## APPENDIX (B).

Reply to Professor Leo's views of the Levitical priesthood.....	231
-----------------------------------------------------------------	-----

## APPENDIX (C).

Dr Gramberg's Essay on Genesis.....	233
-------------------------------------	-----

---

## INTRODUCTION.

---

THE Lectures which are now offered to the Public relate to two subjects, being occupied partly with the history contained in the Bible, and partly with the evidence on which we receive it. Their main purpose is to trace some of the effects which the existence of the Law of Moses appears to have produced upon the character of the Jews, and the events of their history. I conceive the typical and prophetic character of the Law in reference to the Messiah, to be the great and leading object of its institution, but I apprehend that we may find considerable profit from tracing its moral and political effects. Two distinct enquiries offer themselves to our notice when we enter on these considerations; the effects which the Law *was calculated* to produce had it been obeyed, and the effects which, in spite of man's disobedience, it did actually produce, as well as the punishments which befell the Israelites for that disobedience. The limits to which I am confined preclude any thing but a rapid sketch of these points, and only allow me to point out a path which I feel convinced may be followed with

advantage,—to trace an outline, which, if succeeding years shall not enable me to fill up myself, I shall be glad to resign into abler hands. The motive which more immediately urged me to select this subject, was a series of Lectures delivered before the University of Berlin by Professor Henry Leo, and published in 1828<sup>1</sup>. They contain a view of Jewish History founded on the modern German School of Philology; and the opinions maintained in them are so at variance with those which I believe ought to flow from a just and philosophical consideration of the Jewish history, that I have thought it worth while to bestow my labour chiefly on the points most misrepresented by that writer. The belief of the writer appears to be, that the history of the Jews, contained in the Bible as it now stands, is in great part a fable, and that we are to seek for those fragments of truth that can be recovered from the darkness of antiquity, by a discriminating consideration of a variety of hints occasionally dropped in the most ancient books of the Bible, and a philosophical view of what *must have been the case*, judging the history of the

<sup>1</sup> Vorlesungen über die Geschichte des Jüdischen Staates, gehalten an der Universität zu Berlin, vom Professor D. Heinrich Leo. Berlin, 1828. 8vo.

Jews by that of other ancient nations. This, indeed, may be at present a fashionable mode of writing history, but I may be allowed to doubt whether it be a truly philosophical method.

It seems<sup>2</sup> to me *to assume* at once that the hand of Providence has never interfered visibly in the conduct of human affairs; and that the development of man's nature having been due in all cases to the exertions and the circumstances of each nation, their early history may almost be deduced from a knowledge of their character and pursuits in later times, when the accounts of them are more authentic. Such considerations are, no doubt, both of value and assistance, in a deficiency of clear and definite evidence: they serve, and justly serve, to modify our views of early history, when derived from scanty materials and later historians; but they are of little or no value *against other evidence*; and it is when they are used to this purpose that we are entitled to complain<sup>3</sup>. An instance of this kind

<sup>2</sup> It is calculated also to remind us of the clever remark made on Voltaire's History of Louis XIV, that 'he drew up his history from his reflections, and not his reflections from his history.'

<sup>3</sup> In reading works by writers of this class, one is almost tempted to believe that they have reduced history to a problem of the following sort, "Given the latitude  
"and



of prejudice may be found in the constant recurrence to the notion that the Israelites were entirely a nomad people. It is then immediately argued that parts of the Mosaic account cannot be true, because they are inconsistent with the habits of such a nation! My readers will find this charge seriously made against part of the Book of Deuteronomy by Dr Hartmann. (See these Lectures, p. 77.)

Again, because priestcraft has often been the source of widely-extended dominion over man, and has often appealed to fictitious miracles and revelations, &c., Professor Leo informs us that all the Levitical appointments must be derived from the same source. (Leo, p. 81).

It would be easy<sup>1</sup> to multiply instances of this propensity to determine the particular his-

"and longitude of a country, and the habits of its people, "to write its early history," and that they exercise their ingenuity in resolving it from the resources of their own imagination, and from a comparison with other nations.

<sup>1</sup> There is a remarkable similarity in the views which all the Neologian writers take of the early Jewish history. It seems almost as if 'myths,' 'legendary tales,' 'national songs,' 'national hatred,' and 'a nomad people,' were all their 'curta supellex'—a sort of lay-figure, which every artist dresses up according to his own fancy, and as it best suits his purpose. With these materials any second-rate writer may take up the Bible, and extemporize a new history of the Jews.

tory of each nation by the common course of events in other countries, under circumstances that can be forced into any thing like a common predicament. But the employment would be as useless as it would be irksome, because I contend against the principle itself, and not against its application in detail. I have no common ground with writers who look to this principle as their only guide in historical researches, instead of viewing it as a supplemental assistance. In the case of the history with which these Lectures are chiefly concerned, there are facts which establish a broad line of distinction between the Jews and every other nation of the world, and which can neither be denied nor explained away. Some of these I have pointed out in Lecture II.; and, although more might be adduced, these are sufficient, I think, to entitle the history of the Bible to some exemption from the application of the principle against which I am contending. It would therefore, it appears to me, be far more philosophical (according to the very principles of our opponents) to determine, *a priori*, that we might fairly expect to find in the early history of this remarkable people facts and events to which there is nothing analogous elsewhere, than to

endeavour to bring the accounts which we actually have into a resemblance of the history of other nations. I am not about to plunge into the general argument on this point, which would require more ability and learning than I possess to treat it competently; I only enter my protest against the principle, and proceed to the points which I feel myself called upon to discuss.

Having satisfied my own mind that the path by which the authors to whom I have alluded pursue their historical researches is not likely to lead to truth, I am indifferent about the conclusions to which they come. But when they attempt, not merely to establish these conclusions by their own mode of investigation, but to shew, by independent reasoning, that the evidence to which we trust is unworthy of our confidence, their arguments immediately assume a higher importance, and no enquirer after truth can view them with indifference. The testimony to the miraculous facts of the Jewish history is in the Scriptures only; and if it can be shewn that these are not the ancient books for which they have passed, that testimony must be materially damaged. But amongst all the books in Scripture, there are none to which this remark applies with the same force as to the Mosaic

writings<sup>1</sup>. If it can be *proved*, that these are the productions of a later age, then, indeed, we should be left in some degree to conjecture, to supply the deficiency of authentic evidence; and our opponents might have excuse for resorting to their favourite principle, and writing the ancient history of the Jews afresh. They might then have some excuse for laying it on the Procrustean bed of their own imagination, and stretching or mutilating it after their own pleasure. But their cause must really rest entirely on the nature of the arguments by which they impugn the antiquity and authenticity of the books of the Bible. The Pentateuch has numbered a multitude of learned and able writers among its defenders, who have done it far more justice than I could hope

<sup>1</sup> The Neologian writers constantly assure us that the *dogmatical* verity of Scripture may be maintained fully by those who deny its historical accuracy or its genuineness. See Augusti, Versuch einer historisch-dogmatischen Einleitung in die Heilige Schrift (Leipz. 1832), chap. i. especially towards the end of it; and compare it with his opinions in the Grundriss einer historisch-kritischen Einleitung ins Alte Testament, *ibid.* 1827. See Jost, Allgem. Geschichte, &c. Book II. §. 6, especially p. 148. So also Salvador assures us, that if the Mosaic Law is not derived from Moses, it is composed in his spirit, &c. It is to be hoped that we are not yet driven to this defence. It will be quite early enough to think of it when our adversaries have any really conclusive arguments against the authenticity of the Pentateuch.

to do ; but I have endeavoured to supply a link in the chain of evidence, which has not hitherto been so fully considered. The reasoning by which Professor Leo has attacked the Pentateuch, coincides in so many respects with the arguments refuted by Dr Graves, that I have left the general question almost untouched, in order to shew the weakness of that which has rather more appearance of novelty to recommend it. I have, therefore, devoted one Lecture to the examination of his arguments against the antiquity of the Book of Joshua, and another to a view of the chief arguments of other modern critics against the genuineness of the Pentateuch. The importance of the Book of Joshua to our cause may be estimated by the zeal with which our adversaries constantly attack it. My defence of it consists solely in the examination of the arguments brought against it—a mode of defence in which if I fail nothing is lost, and if I succeed a great point is gained. If I fail, the arguments which I have failed to refute may still be unsound, though my abilities have not enabled me to find their weakness ; but if I succeed, I shew that all which the ingenuity of man has *hitherto* brought against it is worth nothing. I do not establish our own cause, but I clear the way for others to do so ;

and if once it is proved that the Book of Joshua be older than the days of David, (or even a somewhat later period), the arguments against the genuineness of the Pentateuch are for ever destroyed. But I need not proceed with these considerations now, because the Lectures are full enough on this point. I may take leave of Professor Leo's book by stating, that if the views brought forward in the following Lectures (from IV—VII.) are founded in truth, they render highly probable the great antiquity of the Mosaic Law. They set forth a train of consequences, both as to the events of history and the character of the people, which, humanly speaking, are far more likely to have resulted from a long-established system, than from a constant succession of changes, and a piece-meal legislation.

It will hardly be necessary to add much more. The Lectures will explain fully the purpose to which they are directed; and the references to the writers whose statements I controvert, are ample enough to spare any lengthened discussion here. I must, however, just mention one writer, whose works I have so often quoted that he deserves a passing notice—I mean Dr Hartmann, of Rostock. I have made the most frequent use of his book entitled *Historisch-Kritis-*

che Forschungen über die Bildung, das Zeitalter, und den Plan der Fünf Bücher Mose's, nebst einer beurtheilenden Einleitung und einer genauen Characteristik der Hebräischen Sagen und Mythen, Rostock, 1831; which I have quoted under the abbreviated form Hartmann, Pent. (for Pentateuch). I found this book convenient, as giving all the arguments which the author could collect together in fifty years against the genuineness of the Pentateuch, with the exception of those which he published in *Die Hebräerin am Putztische*, about twenty years ago. He wishes to be thought unprejudiced, but I can neither find the traces of impartiality in his review of the arguments of his opponents, nor a freedom from prejudice in those which he advances himself. The nature of his book will be seen by the various extracts which I have given from it. I confess, that when I see a man refusing his assent to strong evidence, I expect to find him inclined to admit far weaker in other cases, and I am not therefore surprised to find Dr Hartmann rejecting the Pentateuch, and strenuously maintaining the genuineness of *Osian's Poems*<sup>1</sup>. His book on the Pentateuch is

<sup>1</sup> I quote the following passages from a note in p. 315 of his *Linguistische Einleitung*, &c.

of little value except to those who are actually engaged in controversy on the subject, for it

“The Gaels, among whom, it is well known, the deeds of their celebrated heroes, and the most remarkable events of the days of their antiquity, have been orally propagated in songs, down to the middle of the last century, have shewn to observers many traces of an extraordinary power of memory.” He then narrates the well-known story of the old man of Sky, who could recite many thousand verses a day. This old man is put to very hard service, for although I am not aware that he ever repeated a line of Ossian, no defence of Ossian fails to introduce his extraordinary memory, which is again celebrated by Hartmann, *Pent.* pp. 295—298.

In endeavouring to ascertain the external evidence for the genuineness of Ossian, from Sir J. Sinclair's and Cesarotti's dissertations in favour of it, I have learnt that there is no doubt that MSS. would prove it—if they could but be found. Witness the MS. of Mr Farquarson, at Douay. There is evidence that a person saw him compare the English edition of Ossian with a MS. which *he said was Gaelic poetry*, and that he remarked its inaccuracy in some places. It happens that the person who gives this testimony *knew nothing of Gaelic*, nor did any one at Douay except Mr F., who died before the Highland Society made their enquiries. The production of the MS. itself would of course resolve all difficulties, but, alas! the French Revolution has injured and dispersed the library at Douay, and the MS. is no where to be found. (See the edition of Ossian in Gaelic, Vol. I. pp. XLiv—LVii.)

Until stronger evidence than any which I have yet seen is produced, I think the persons who reject the evidence for the Pentateuch, and accept that for Ossian,—who tell us that Hebrew cannot have been an unchanged language for ten centuries, but that Gaelic may have descended orally for fourteen (from A.D. 400—1762),—bring before our minds very forcibly the saying of our Saviour about those who, after they have strained at a gnat, swallow a camel!



contains very little that conduces to the elucidation of Scripture. The other works of his with which I am acquainted are by no means destitute of utility, though very much mixed up with opinions from which I cannot but dissent<sup>1</sup>. But in this the main object is to advocate the new opinions about the Pentateuch; and his book becomes a collection of what courtesy alone, in many instances, would induce us to call arguments in favour of them. The introduction is valuable, as giving a general history of enquiries relating to the five books of Moses, although he despatches those who maintain their genuineness, in a very summary manner, and with considerable unfairness.

I cannot, at the present moment, state whether his work had reached my hands when my second and third Lectures were written—(those two Lectures were delivered early in 1833, and Dr Hartmann's volumes came out only in 1831); but on my return to Cambridge this year, I had it constantly by me, and the use I have made of it will be seen in the notes.

<sup>1</sup> 1. *Die Enge Verbindung des Alten Testaments mit dem Neuen.* 8vo. 1831.

2. *Die Hebräerin am Putztische.* 3 vols. sm. 8vo. 1809.

3. *Linguistische Einleitung in das Studium der Bücher des A. T.* Bremen, 8vo. 1818.

Professor Leo and Dr Hartmann<sup>2</sup> are the only two authors whom I have so constantly controverted throughout my Lectures, that it is of importance to mention them in this Introduction; but it has been necessary, of course, to refer to many other writers of the same school. The English Clergy have been accused of neglecting to make themselves acquainted with the state of sacred philology in Germany, and called upon, in the flippant language of the *Edinburgh Review*<sup>3</sup> (No. 107), 'to awake from the dignified

<sup>2</sup> I may perhaps add, that the work of Gesenius to which I have made most frequent reference is the *Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache und Schrift*, 1815.

<sup>3</sup> The article to which I allude on my Brother and Professor Lee, as well as the part of an article on the Admission of Dissenters to the Universities which bears on the theology of Germany, appear to me to manifest so very superficial a knowledge of the subject, that it is scarcely worth while to give any attention, or any answer to their statements. With regard to my Brother, it is quite impossible to publish an answer, because, instead of controverting his arguments, the review does little but rail at his motives, except that it seems to recommend the perusal of Schiller's tract, which it calls '*The Finding of Moses!*' This was no doubt a very likely subject for a poet's pen—but it happens that the poet's treatise is on a different subject—*Die Sendung Moses*. It is a prettily written fable, but it does not contain a single argument worth considering. For Schiller's poetry I have as high a regard as the Reviewer could wish; but I pity the struggles of a mind ill at ease on religious matters, which sometimes break forth in  
his

slumbers in which it is their pleasure to indulge, and to take some notice of the incursions into their sacred territory, which the theologians of Germany have so long been permitted to make without any repulse.' The following Lectures are an humble attempt, on the part of one who well knows how many there are among his brethren in the Church far more able to deal with this matter than he is, to ascertain for himself the value of the researches which have been so highly extolled, and to shew, in the plainest and simplest manner, that, if we are in quest of truth, we cannot use them except with the utmost discrimination and caution. I have, therefore, attempted, in part of this little volume, to lay before all classes of readers such specimens of the mode of investigation adopted by the supporters of the new opinions, as will shew that they do not take the path which is likely to lead to truth, and by an examination of many of their arguments in detail, to shew into how many contradictions and absurdities they fall. The notes and the Appendix contain the sub-

his poems (his *Sehnsucht*, for instance); and I hope, indeed I have understood, that his opinions underwent a change in later life. The author of 'The Song of the Bell' could hardly have remained a sceptic.

stantial proofs of these assertions, especially the examination of Dr Hartmann's list of words in the notes to Lecture III., and Appendix (A).

With regard to the rest of the Lectures, (Lect. IV—VII.) which contain some views of my own, without reference to other writers, I must leave them to speak for themselves. I am however obliged, by the circumstances under which I am placed, to request indulgence, if I speak a few words on a subject, on which, as it only involves personal considerations, I should have wished to be silent. It will be seen that the 7th Lecture terminates the subject somewhat abruptly. The fact is, that I intended to deliver another on the same subject, containing some practical remarks arising out of the preceding enquiries, and calculated to shew, from the history of the Jewish nation, the overwhelming importance of national religion to every country which is desirous of continuing in prosperity, and to review some modern notions of the Progress of Man. This was the course which the last Lecture would have followed, had it pleased Providence to enable me to compose and to deliver it. But it was otherwise. During the whole month of October, in which the 5th, 6th, and 7th Lectures were delivered, I was suffering severely

from illness; and, on one occasion, I was obliged to give up preaching, in the hope that I might obtain strength enough to finish the course, by taking the first Sunday in November. The promptness and kindness with which Professor Scholefield (the select preacher for November) offered to resign that Sunday to me, and when I was so ill that it was physically impossible for me to avail myself of his offer, his readiness to resume it, on a very short notice, demand the warmest acknowledgements of my gratitude. At the end of October I was in a state of health that any exertion, either of body or mind, was out of the question, and I was, for some weeks, unable to be removed for change of air; but the mercy of Providence, on my leaving Cambridge, restored me to health; and I hope may enable me to use that health in the service of the best of causes—the cause of our holy and apostolical Church.

The only reason which renders these personal details necessary, is the circumstance, that the Lecture which was meant to form the 8th in this course does not appear, and its place is supplied by one which was not originally intended to be published.

I have now only to express my gratitude to the Trustees of Mr Hulse's Benefaction for the

highly-flattering offer which they made to me of continuing me in the Lectureship during the present year; and to assure them, that nothing but the consciousness that, in my then state of health, I could not have fulfilled the duties of the office without discredit to the University, prevented my accepting their proffered kindness.

It is as much as I can hope for, under these circumstances, if, in the present instance, it shall be thought that this Volume does not reflect discredit on those who appointed its Author to the situation in which the Lectures were delivered.

ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, 1834.

---

## ERRATA.

---

Page 54, line 5, *after* 'for,' *add* 'human nature,' and *dele* the comma  
after 'of' in the next line.

125, line 4 from bottom of page, *for* 'St Salvador,' *read* 'Salvador.'

136, last line but one, *for*  $\pi\psi$  *read*  $\pi\phi$ .

# LECTURE I.

---

## HEBREWS X. 1.

**ERRATA.**—P. 116, line 5 from bottom, for “our,” read “one.”  
151, ..... 2 *dele* “rendered it.”  
ib. .... 4 *dele* “by shortening the limits.”

— ~~some~~ or so wide extent must be gradual and slow in its progress. A very partial knowledge of human nature, could alone lead any man to conceive, that such a scheme can be sudden in its operation or uniformly successful in its results. The difficulties which a thorough reform and renovation of any one character presents, may give some faint notion of those, with which a system intended for the reformation of all mankind, must contend. The variety of dispositions, the change of habits, the different elements which a difference of climate, customs, and ages, introduces into the human character, entirely baffle human thought, when it would attempt to sketch out a system, which should extend to every age its renovating influence, and adapt itself to every climate,



and every form of government under which man can be supposed to exist. This is a problem the difficulties of which every moral philosopher, who attempts the improvement of man, is compelled to acknowledge, even when he attempts its partial solution for a nation and an age, with whose habits and peculiarities he is thoroughly acquainted. He is often compelled, with sorrow, to confess the weakness of human foresight, and to acknowledge, that his deep-laid systems have failed of their expected result. Now, the problem which the moral philosopher, or the legislator, (as far as his province touches on morals) attempts to solve for one case, Christianity professes to solve for all: to give a code of motives and of duties, which shall be applicable to every nation and every age alike; and we may in full confidence appeal to the Infidel himself on this point, by asking him to lay his finger on any one of the leading principles of Christianity, and say that it is limited to the time at which it appeared, or that it is inapplicable to any particular season of the world, or any particular people. But this absence of all peculiarity is a feature of Christianity, so familiar to the minds of all who have thought upon the subject, that I will not dwell upon it here. I only mention it because it is one great point of contrast between the Mosaic Law and Christianity, when considered as means of moral

and spiritual edification, and because it is to the Mosaic Law, that I would endeavour to draw your attention on the present occasion. The Universal Law for all mankind, it did not please the Almighty to disclose at once; the Universal Law was delayed till another dispensation, like to the latter in the principles on which it was founded, but utterly unlike it in all its provisions and appointments, had been exhibited to the world, had done its work for man, and passed away for ever.

It will be the object of these Lectures to enquire, not what the work was which the Mosaic dispensation was *intended* to effect, but to gather, from the acknowledged facts of history, *some part and portion of that* which it did actually effect, as well as to clear the testimony to its antiquity from some of the darkness which has been cast around it by the misty atmosphere of modern speculation. It is only in the deep conviction of the necessity of a constant study of the Old Testament for the understanding of the New, that I venture to bring before you a subject, which can offer no novelty; and that I lead you into a field where so many have reaped and gathered sheaves, and furnished so abundantly the storehouses of the bread of life, that we can hope to glean only a few and scattered ears. But this is an enquiry, which we cannot conduct without a constant reference to Scripture—a field

in which man cannot dig without finding hidden treasure—and therefore I trust our labour may not be unprofitably spent.

Let it not, however, be imagined that I dare to judge the purposes of God, to enquire into *all* the ends that he proposed, or to ascertain their fitness to produce those ends. It is not for man, whose being extends but for a few short years!—who sees the past but dimly, and knows of the future only so much as the promises of God reveal,—in the depth of his ignorance to scan the everlasting purposes of the Most High, except in the humblest spirit, and with the desire to learn what it has pleased his Almighty Maker to do for him and all men, and to learn how he may turn all that has been done to the use of his own immortal soul, and to the furtherance of the practical influence of God's holy Word upon his fellow men! The everlasting purposes of God for the salvation of man were laid by that wisdom which was with Him, while as yet He had not made 'the earth, nor the fields, nor the highest part of the dust of the world;' when He prepared the Heavens, and 'set a compass on the face of the deep<sup>1</sup>:' and when man would dare to speculate on the recovery of a ruined world, he returns upon his own heart with the enquiry, 'Where wast thou when He laid the foundations

<sup>1</sup> Prov. viii. 26—28.

of the earth?' and he confesses the ignorance of a being, whose life is but a span, and his knowledge and concernment in this world bounded by the grave!

It is not, therefore, in reply to any objection<sup>2</sup>, derived from the length of time that elapsed before Christianity was given to man, that I frame this enquiry! It was not to meet the question, If the knowledge of Christ be of paramount necessity to man, if the moral improvement and the spiritual elevation of man's nature be the object which Almighty wisdom has had in view—why was the purifying and spiritual Law withheld from man so long?—why was only a part of God's will made known, and that confined to so scant a portion of the earth? I do not, therefore, profess to reply to such an objection, because

<sup>2</sup> I cannot refrain from referring to some very apposite remarks on this subject in a passage from Professor Tholuck's 'Essay on the Importance of the Study of the Old Testament,' an essay in which there is very much to approve of, although it is mixed with some things from which one cannot but widely dissent. The remarks will be found in the translation of that Essay in the 2nd Number of the 'Biblical Cabinet,' p. 208—214. The subject is also treated of most fully in the work entitled 'Christianity always Progressive,' by my brother, the Rev. Hugh James Rose, especially in p. 5, and note 1. Dr Hawkins's 'Discourses on the Objects and Uses of the Historical Scriptures,' Oxford, 1833, contain some views which tend to throw much light on this question. It can scarcely be necessary to refer to a work so well known and so deservedly esteemed as Miller's Bampton Lectures.

it is an objection against Revelation, distinct from an objection against its evidence; nor does it seem to be needful, for I see not by whom, except by him, who has taken refuge in darkness and owns no God, it can be urged as an effectual argument. It can cause no difficulty to the sincere and humble Christian, who knows that even if his reason could discern no cause for this delay, infinite wisdom has laid the whole scheme, and thus he puts his cause into the hand of God! and surely it can never be urged by the consistent Deist, for it recoils upon his own wretched system with equal force. It cannot, I trust, trouble the heart of the Christian, because he sees in his own dispensation something analogous. He sees that as yet but a part and portion of the world are warmed by the genial warmth of that Sun of Righteousness in the brightness of whose beams he himself rejoices! He sees the scathe and sorrow sin has wrought in the world! This is a fact, of which his own eyes are witness, and it is matter of plain experience to him that every remedy for that scathe and sorrow, is and must be gradual and slow, and therefore when he looks to Revelation, he does not expect to find its operation sudden. Nay, to a mind fully alive to the impediments which the imperfection of God's human instruments throws in the way of his purposes, and

the appalling difficulties with which Christianity has hitherto had to contend, the feeling of sorrow for that portion of the world over which darkness still spreads its veil, is lost in wonder and gratitude for the conquests which the light of the Gospel has already made. As the knowledge that sin still reigns in the world, that multitudes still pass away from life to whom the glad tidings of the Cross have never come, shakes not his faith, so neither ought it to harass his mind, that in the ages of old, the partial light vouchsafed to man was not vouchsafed to all. They are two phenomena of exactly the same class, and the mind which has acquiesced in the one, has no title to demur at the other! Indeed the humble Christian professes not to judge them that are without. He feels that the dispensation of Christ may benefit and save even those who never heard his name! and therefore, although he looks with sorrow at all the fair regions which human sin has defaced and desolated, in the days of old, where it has parched the grass and poisoned the wells of life, it is not a sorrow unmingled with hope; and for the future his heart is often filled with joy, and kindles almost into rapture, when in the fulness of that faith, where the Spirit giveth witness to its own words and promises, he sees, dim and distant though the vision be, all the families of the earth unite in

one faith, and the will of his Master done on earth even as it is in heaven.

Nor is this objection formidable in the hands of the Infidel, because it recoils upon himself, unless he takes refuge in the miserable plea, that before his God moral good and evil are things indifferent—that there is no such thing as sin,—that neither wrath, nor fraud, nor lust, can degrade the human race in the eyes of its Maker, and rob it of all that gives it grace, and dignity, and worth! With one whose moral feelings are so blunted, it is hopeless to attempt to argue; but if the objection be advanced by any who acknowledges the moral system of the Gospel, and when he has stolen from Christianity all the moral precepts which he can appreciate, and which Revelation alone, or Revelation first, plainly proclaimed to man, then turns round on Christianity, and condemns it as needless, because man's reason is a sufficient guide for his conduct, the plea is utterly groundless, and the weapon falls powerless from his hand, or it recoils and pierces his own bosom! If he objects to Christianity, that while it professes to be the means of purifying man's nature, it was withheld during so many ages, the Christian may fairly enquire of him, *where* during all this period was the operation of his boasted reason, and what were her victories over sin and corruption?

The Christian may point to the grosser idolatry of former days, to them that sacrificed their children to Moloch, and gave the fruit of their loins to devils with rites of the grossest abomination, or he may turn to the more enlightened of heathen nations, and when with sorrow he confesses how deeply stained is all the best and purest of their literature with impurity, he may enquire why the tree of the knowledge of good and evil grew so slowly, why it delayed so long to bring forth good fruit, and why, *even now*, so many of its branches are withered and decayed, yea, why instead of wholesome and salutary food, they bring forth poisonous and pestilential fruit? We might point out to the unbeliever the gigantic systems of idolatry and superstition which still fetter the human mind in the regions of the East<sup>1</sup>, we might dwell upon the revolting detail of their abominations, the long line of vices which follow in their train, and the impurity which taints even the temples of their worship—for there the very light is only darkness—and then ask him whether this be an evil, and whether his own system supplies a remedy, or gives him even a distant hope of any balm to pour into these wounds! If he has any care for the

<sup>1</sup> I may specify Ward's 'Account of the Hindoos' as a work in which these assertions may be seen borne out by the most ample testimony.



better and higher part of man's nature, if he believes, as he professes to believe, that man was born to serve his Maker in pure and moral habits, he must retract his objection to Christianity, and acknowledge, that if an objection at all, it is an objection which lies against his own system also, and he must acknowledge that his hopes of any remedy, except from the exertions of the servants of that Master whom he rejects, are slight indeed! If he has any hopes, any longings for the purification of this large portion of the human race, and their consequent elevation in the scale of being, his hopes must rest on the life and energy with which the spirit-stirring Gospel inspires its sons to lay the words of eternal life before all nations, and kindreds, and people, and to baptize all nations in a name which he does not acknowledge; but thus, and thus only, can he hope to see the moral amelioration effected for which he professes to care! He may expect, when Dagon falls, to set up his own idol in its stead, but he knows that it is only before the ark of the Lord that Dagon can fall! The advocates of the sufficiency of human reason have no banners under which they can fight! The battle must be fought and won by the hosts of the living God, before they can enter on the field! and alas! when they do, how painful is it to reflect that they follow in the train

of this advancing army only to rob the wounded of his most precious balm, and the dying of his only sure and certain hope!

I concern not myself therefore with this objection any farther, than merely thus to state it, and shew what appear to me the grounds on which a Christian is entitled at once to dismiss it from his thoughts. But there is another point of view in which the late appearance of our Saviour, and the rejection of Him by the chosen nation of God, has given painful thought and some perplexity even to the faithful Christian, because he conceives it to clash in some degree with one of the declarations of Scripture. A writer of no common power has declared, that to him there are few texts "more difficult than the saying of St Paul, that the "Law was a "schoolmaster to bring us to Christ." He acknowledges that "a survey of the state of man "under the law of nature, or under the Mo- "saic dispensation, is admirably fitted to shew us "our need of the economy of grace; and that "thus the Law is a schoolmaster to bring *us* to "Christ," he affirms, "is undeniable and obvious. "It is moreover perfectly discernible by us at

<sup>1</sup> British Critic, Vol. VIII. p. 372. Although this is only an anonymous essay, it is written with so much ability, that it is impossible not to attribute it to an author of great eminence.

“this day, that Judaism was designed as a firm  
“and substantial causeway in the midst of the  
“morass and quagmire of the ancient superstitions,  
“by which an universal religion might be intro-  
“duced into the world—as morality seated in  
“the heart and a worship of sublime simplicity.”  
“But,” he continues “our difficulty begins when  
“we consider this saying of the Apostle with  
“reference to the perceptible effect of the Law  
“upon the chosen people themselves;” and he en-  
quires, “What was the preparation actually effected  
“by this protracted course of training? what was  
“the improvement accomplished? and were the  
“Jews much better prepared for the reception of  
“the Messiah, at the period of his appearance,  
“than they were in the days of king David?”

This is also a difficulty which I would endeavour to remove by a few simple observations, before I enter on an enquiry, which will touch but in part on these points; although if this difficulty were really founded in a true view of the case, these questions would seem to demand an answer at my hands. But, in truth, I think the difficulty into which this writer has fallen, arises rather from his pressing too far the words of St Paul in a sense which they were hardly intended to bear.

Let us suppose for a moment that the Apostle had written, that this Law was a schoolmaster

to bring the Jewish nation, as a nation, to Christ, would there be in this, even when it is acknowledged that the Jewish nation rejected our Lord, anything but an instance of that perversity of man, by which the designs of God are often frustrated, and all the good and the mercy which his benevolence has lavished on man, have been rendered vain and void<sup>1</sup>? Would it have differed, except in degree, from any of the former rejections of God's gracious messages, on the part of his chosen people? when he called them, 'rising up early and sending his prophets to them', when the vineyard which he had stoned and planted and dressed, instead of grapes put forth only wild grapes? or would this saying of St Paul have been more "hard to be understood" than the memorable and melancholy exclamation of

<sup>1</sup> The writer in the British Critic asks whether the Jews were more prepared in the days of our Saviour than in those of David? Now Christianity would have had to struggle in that case with a people not entirely free even from idolatrous practices and inclinations, and the circumstances of the world would have been far more unfavourable for the propagation of such a religion as Christianity, than in the season in which Christianity actually did appear. The advantages gained by its later appearance are set forth by many of our divines. An abstract of their arguments, with full references to their works, will be found in the work of my brother, quoted above (Christianity always Progressive, Notes to Ch. II. Note 1.), together with some able observations of his own.

<sup>2</sup> Jerem. xxxv. 15.

our Lord, when he wept over Jerusalem? All that could be done for his vineyard had been done, and yet it did not produce the fruit which might have been expected from it! What would there be in this but that which man's own experience and his own heart confirm to him day by day, when he owns with shame and sorrow, that the benefits which the careful hand of Providence prepared for him have been lost to him by his own perverseness, that the things which might have been for his peace, yea, which the Almighty designed for his peace, have been cast away and rejected by him and are hid from him for ever? The offers of the Almighty to his people were always conditional; they were at liberty to accept or to reject them, but the blessing or the curse was always at hand to follow on their choice. But man's ungainly temper was not to spoil the purposes of the Most High; and if he delayed the coming of his Son into the world, until the state of the Jewish Church was such that a *sufficient* number ready to embrace the Gospel would be found to propagate it, even though the nation at large rejected it, where would be the impropriety of the Apostle's use of such an expression? To create any difficulty here from the Apostle's phrase would be to determine, that, because this is the only purpose it falls in with his argument to

mention, the Law has no other, or at least, no greater purposes; none that are to last as long as Christianity itself needs the evidence of prophecy, and its doctrines the illustrations, derived from the types of the Law. Even had the Apostle's words conveyed the meaning I have supposed, this interpretation would have pressed them unfairly, and turned a general illustration into a special assertion! But, to say the truth, it appears to me that the whole difficulty, which has here been raised, disappears when the real meaning of the Apostle's words is admitted, and the circumstances of the persons to whom they were addressed are taken into the account! He is addressing men, who having embraced the Gospel, thought it incomplete unless they received the Law also, and he therefore sets before them the proper uses of that Law, both to those who lived under it, and to those who received the dispensation to which it was only preliminary. He refers to the advantage which the sense of sin, awakened in man's heart by spiritual meditation on the former Law, brings to those Jews who with him embrace the Gospel of life, and seek their salvation from the sacrifice of Christ, by faith in his blood and obedience to his will, and not by compliance with the ceremonial commands of the Levitical ritual. He refers to the lesson which that ritual with its types and sacrifices

was capable of teaching to multitudes of pure spirits who lived under its guidance, and looked to the promises afar off, (though this is not *here* a part of the Apostle's arguments), and of teaching to those *who saw and rejoiced in their completion!* It is to those who *had accepted* the salvation offered in the name of Christ that the Apostle addresses these words<sup>1</sup>, and teaches them how to use the Scriptures which were written for their learning; and any reference to a *course of successive training* appears quite forced. Indeed his reference to the Law is partly in disparagement of it, as compared with the Gospel. It was, he says, such a measure of grace as could then be bestowed on man before the fulness of time; it was not consistent with the purposes of God to bestow more. But to return now to that which was only given till better and brighter things were opened to the view of man, would be to

<sup>1</sup> The phrase in the original would rather import, which *hath been* and *is*, our schoolmaster to lead us unto Christ. There are many modes in which the illustration of St Paul may be taken. It may signify that in all ages the Law gave that information on the nature of sin, which the state of the people allowed them to understand, just as a schoolmaster teaches a child; and also that to those, who, like St Paul, had lived under the Law for a time, and then saw the Gospel, it was a course of education, such as to fit them for receiving it. The subject is, however, put in a somewhat different and a very striking light by Luther *in loc.*: other interpretations may be seen in Macknight and Pole's Synopsis.

seek a return from freedom to bondage, from the full light of matured age to the season of childhood, when we needed guardians and instructors. It would be to return from the full blaze of meridian day, to the dim and faint twilight that ushers in the dawn.

These two difficulties it has appeared to me proper to anticipate, and thus far, but thus far only, to consider. I could have wished to pursue the train of thought suggested by the Apostle's words, when he presses on the Galatians the improvement they ought to derive from the consideration of the years of old, but it is now time to close this portion of the subject before us. And can we better employ the moments that remain, than by calling to mind one of the analogies between our condition and that of those who lived under the old covenant, by remembering that we too look for a better country and another temple, not made with hands, of which the Church below is but a type! If the pure in spirit among the Israelites of old looked forward in faith to glorious forms, of which they saw but the faint approaching shadows,—if their long line of sacrifices, while it bowed down the heart with the sense of sin, yet spoke of better things to come, and cheered the ear of faith, while it trained their hearts to hold communion with the Father of light,—we also, in this our imperfect state, are under the guidance and training of a Master, whose work within us



must be gradual, and slowly prepare our spirits for another and a higher state, where the vail of the flesh, which now dims our vision, being rent in sunder, the spirit of God shall shine upon us with all its brightness. Children as we are in knowledge in this our present temple, all our sacrifices are imperfect—the spirit only half contrite, the will but half resigned—and all the gifts of God, his grace, his peace and purity, are imperfectly accepted, although these sacrifices have a natural fitness to train us up to heaven, and are offered by our High Priest that sitteth at the right hand of God, and are but the foretaste and the earnest of the good things which he has prepared for them that love him, when that which is in part shall be done away, and we shall know even as we are known! Let us remember, therefore, that while we are passing on from life to death, while we dwell in the world of sense, the house not made with hands is rising up in regions beyond our ken! But into that house, into that heavenly Jerusalem, none can enter but the Israelite, whose heart has long been fixed upon it in faith—who has learned to see and discern its courts, its altars, its worship and its pleasures in the Church that is below! who has used the things that are seen only as his passage to those that are unseen, and things temporal only as his path to things eternal.

## LECTURE II.

---

### 2 PETER I. 6.

*We have not followed cunningly devised fables.*

IN entering on the subject, which I propose to consider in these Lectures, it is necessary to remark, that the first enquiry that will occupy our attention, is of a purely historical character. The object of these Lectures is to ascertain the effects which the Law of Moses produced among the Jews, at various times during the seasons of its acceptance or neglect; and as the plain and simple narrative of the earliest parts of the Jewish History will form the groundwork of all the inferences I draw, all the views I espouse, it seems but right to place before you some of the reasons which induce me to believe that this plain and simple narrative stands undamaged by any of the late attempts to shake its credibility. But before we proceed to the discussion itself, let me remind you, that, although the origin of the Laws of Moses be a question which is here considered only on historical grounds, it is a question fraught with consequences of the deepest moment to the most vital doctrines of Christianity. The plain and

simple statements of the Pentateuch are the foundation of a large portion of the reasoning of St Paul; and if the Pentateuch be, as some would persuade us, the work of a later age than that of Moses, and if it be a collection of documents written at various times, by unknown authors, all our notions on these reasonings must be changed. Now, however this consideration might, in the first instance, bias my opinion, however it might dispose me to receive with the utmost possible caution any arguments which attempted to set aside the commonly received notions on the subject, I think historical arguments and historical evidence must always be attentively considered and fairly weighed<sup>1</sup>. I have, therefore, in the examination of this question, endeavoured to ascertain the value of the arguments brought against us, entirely abstracting from all consideration of the consequences to which they may lead; and I confess, that the longer I dwell upon the new hypothesis, or rather the new hypotheses, which have been proposed, the more strongly I feel convinced of the unsoundness of the grounds on which they are advanced, and of the truth of the one simple statement of Scripture.

The Scriptures fear no enquiry, they ask no fa-

<sup>1</sup> I must request my readers to compare this with a similar sentiment more fully expressed in the Preface to Keil's *Apologetischer Versuch*, &c. p. x. xi.

vour, but they demand from every man who attempts to investigate the historical evidence on which they rest, a promise that he will search as fully as he is able, never reposing on mere assertions against them, however strong, nor acquiescing in hypotheses, however specious, without the fullest examination of the foundations on which they rest, and a fair trial of the difficulties consequent upon their admission. It must be remembered, that the mere existence of difficulties, the existence of a few points which we may be unable to clear up, is no valid objection against the truth of our historical Scriptures. The very hypothesis, which is invented to avoid one difficulty, is, perhaps, chargeable with many others of a different and a far more formidable character. It would be easy to shew, that scarcely any two writers, who have departed from the common opinions on this subject, agree in all, or in most material points; that there are scarcely any wild opinions which have not found an advocate; and that the most contradictory positions have been maintained by writers who profess to enquire on the selfsame principles.

One writer, for instance, informs us, that the Law was composed by Hilkiah, and then improves upon his opinion by informing us, that he preserved the copies by him for seventeen years, and then issued a new edition of it, containing a small

addition to the prophecies of Balaam<sup>1</sup>. He is followed in this extravagance by his translator and

<sup>1</sup> A very full enumeration of the writers who have espoused the notion that Moses was not the author of the Pentateuch, is given by Hartmann, Ueber den Pent. p. 4—71. He is himself one of the most strenuous advocates of its non-Mosaic origin. Many of his reasons and opinions will be canvassed in the Notes and the Appendix to these Lectures.

From the chronological sketch of the controversies relative to the genuineness of the Pentateuch prefixed to Dr A. T. Hartmann's 'Historisch-Kritische Forschungen über die Bildung, &c. der Fünf Bücher Mose's,' it would appear, that (with the exception of Aben-Ezra) Spinoza was the first who advanced with any confidence the notion that Moses was not the author of the books usually attributed to him. (See Spinoza, 'Tractatus Theologico-Politicus,' cap. VIII. IX.) The older writers on this question are too well known to require enumeration here; more especially as this task has been so fully performed by Hartmann. My remarks apply only, or chiefly, to arguments brought forward since the publication of Dr Graves's Lectures, or works not noticed by him. The passage in the text alludes to M. Volney, (*Récherches Nouvelles sur l'Histoire Ancienne*, ch. v—xi. From xi—xix. he considers the Book of Genesis, which he supposes to be a Chaldean document retouched and arranged by Hilkiah, &c.) M. Volney sums up the result of his speculations in the following manner:

"Ainsi nous nous voyons sans cesse ramenés à nos deux propositions fondamentales, savoir:

"Que Moïse n'est point l'auteur du *Pentateuque*, et que Helqiah est cet auteur, indiqué par une foule de circonstances!"

He finds internal and external proofs of these propositions. His internal proofs consist chiefly of some resemblances between the Book of Deuteronomy and the Prophecies of Jeremiah contained in his first six chapters, which he supposes to relate to an irruption of Scythians in the year 625

defender. Another is sure that Deuteronomy was not written till after the captivity<sup>1</sup>, and that Joshua

a. c. The production of the Book of the Law was in 621 a. c. M. Volney explains the predictions of Balaam as nothing but allusions to past or passing events, but he finds some difficulty in explaining the ships of Chittim to his own satisfaction. He will not suppose that Italy is meant, because that would entail the supposition of an interpolation, after the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, which the great synagogue had influence enough to insert both in the Septuagint and the Samaritan text! I quite agree with the learned writer in believing that this supposition would be tolerably hard of digestion, although *he* does not seem to consider it utterly impossible. (On the Nature and the Existence of the *Great Synagogue*, see Jost, *Allgemeine Geschichte des Israëlitischen Volkes*, &c. Vol. i. p. 440—509, and Dr A. T. Hartmann, *Ueber die Enge Verbindung des Alten Testaments mit dem Neuen*, &c. *Hamb.* 1831.) He is equally discontented with the supposition that Chittim designates *Macedonia*, in which case he would have to believe that an interpolation, later than the time of Alexander the Great, was transferred to the Samaritan text, being received by them from their enemies the Jews! I agree here also with the learned writer, that this, as well as the former, would be a difficult supposition to entertain.

But, happily for the world at large, there is an explanation of this phenomenon (without having recourse to the simple supposition of the truth and integrity of Moses), which satisfies M. Volney; and as it is the best he can find, he expects it to satisfy his readers.

It seems, according to him, that Ketim (our Chittim) means the inhabitants of Cyprus, so called from *Kitum*, the ancient capital of Cyprus, and that the Hebrews being very ignorant of geography, afterwards extended this name to all the coasts of Cilicia, and all the great islands or coun-

tries

<sup>1</sup> Dr Gramberg. See Appendix A.

is a later work than Deuteronomy; while his fellow-labourer in the same vineyard is equally sure that

tries of the west. Now if we admit this, the reign of Josiah will furnish us with a fact calculated to explain the allusion; for we find from Herodotus, II. 159, that Nekos, who reigned in 616 B. C. made use of a fleet of triremes on the Mediterranean; and the historian immediately mentions the battle of Magdol, (our Megiddo,) at which Josiah perished. M. Volney then informs us that Jeremiah and Berosus state, that while Nekos was taking his army by land to the attack on the Jews, his fleet was carrying by sea another army, which was to second his operations on the Euphrates. The rest of his discussion I must give in his own language. "Cette flotte dut nécessairement prendre un appui en Cypre, et put agir de concert avec les Kitiens (!); alors ces *vaisseaux* seront réellement venus de *Ketim*, ils auront tourmenté l'Assyrien et l'Hebreu. Ce dernier, dans cette même guerre, reçut le terrible échec de *Magdolum*, où perit Josiah; échec qui fut suivi de la prise de Jérusalem; or, comme Nekos finit par être battu et chassé en l'an 604, l'oracle *lui-même aussi perira*, se trouve accompli. Il y a l'objection que cet événement est postérieur de 17 ans à la publication du Pentateuque; mais Helqiah pouvait vivre encore; et comme il resta maître de son MS., toujours *unique*, il put y faire lui-même cette addition: les mot *malheur à qui vivra alors*, conviennent singulièrement à la douleur que durent lui laisser la mort de son pupille Josiah et la prise de Jerusalem." Volney, Œuvres, Vol. v. p. 104.

It appears, then, that Hilkiah *might* be alive in 604 B. C., and *might* have an opportunity of interpolating his MS., to give a passing allusion to a fleet which *might* touch at Cyprus, and *might* co-operate with a people who *might* be called *Ketim*, the word *Ketim* being the only guide to this allusion!!

Now this is indeed a congeries of possibilities, which however allowable when intended to prove a priest of God a liar, a forger, and a hypocrite, would be deemed most unsatisfactory

Joshua was written a little before the captivity, and that Deuteronomy was in existence in the

unsatisfactory by any infidel writer, if advanced by a Christian in support of his faith. With regard to Macedonia and Italy, whether the Spirit of God foretold the destruction of the people of the East by the Greeks and Romans in this remarkable prophecy, I shall not here attempt to decide, as the passage from which the words are taken is confessedly one of the most difficult to be met with in the Bible. (See Bp Newton on the Prophecies, and Vater *in loc.*) I shall only say, that if the allusions are made to these powers, the *later interpolations* hinted at by Volney are too absurd to require a moment's notice.

The only notice which Dr Hartmann takes of Volney, as a writer on the Pentateuch, is to state the opinions he holds, and to tell us, that being entirely unacquainted with the late inquiries in Germany, all that he did was to bring forward the passages collected by Spinoza and R. Simon as important proofs of a post-Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch. We see, however, by the last sentence in the above extract, that he could find in the words of Scripture internal evidence even for the most fanciful of his dreams, and support these old arguments by newly-invented refinements.

Volney, however, allows that Hilkiyah was certainly possessed of some genuine remains of Moses, Vol. v. p. 94.

One great difficulty which opposes itself to all the infidel and rationalist schemes, is the admission which they make of the existence of the Levites as a tribe without landed possessions, before the time at which they conceive the Law to have been written, or the scheme devised on which it was founded. See Leo, *Vorlesungen*, p. 82, where he proposes the difficulty. His answer, or rather his evasion of it, will be noticed hereafter.

Volney has, however, it must be confessed, rendered some service to the cause of religion by his works. The evidence of an enemy to Christianity, when he unconsciously confirms the truth, is above all suspicion and beyond all value.

It



days of Josiah<sup>1</sup>. Another writer, and he too the founder of the school<sup>2</sup>, after asserting that we have no historical data whereby to trace the history of the language, immediately divides one portion of the Book of Numbers from another by the differ-

It is in this respect that Volney's travels, which often describe the state of Eastern countries almost in the words of the Scripture prophecies regarding them, is a work of so much interest and of such great utility. There are some chronological remarks also worth attending to in his '*Récherches Nouvelles*;' but his attempt to ridicule the Scriptures, and to persuade men, that after travelling in Palestine one must come to the conclusion that Scripture is a fable, is as much beneath argument as it is remote from wit. It is curious to observe how different are the grounds for which men leave the simple faith of the Bible. Volney tells us (see his *Œuvres*, Vol. VII. p. 146—147,) that a man who has travelled in the East will know the Scriptures to be fabulous, which suppose the history of Abraham, &c. to have been traditionally transmitted to such remote times, because in Syria, at the present day, a traveller will find that few men know who their grandfather was! But on the other hand, every German writer who attempts to persuade us that the early books of the Bible are a series of mythical tales, like the legends of old, or the myths preserved in Homer, as infallibly appeals to the well-known powers of memory possessed by most uncultivated nations, and particularly by Eastern nations in early times. See Hartmann, *Pent.* p. 295—298. Compare also p. 324, &c. Dr Hartmann does, it must be confessed, also allude to the incorrectness of Arabic genealogies, p. 259.

<sup>1</sup> De Wette. See Appendix A.

<sup>2</sup> Vater. *Ueber den Pentateuch*, Vol. III. p. 617 and 643. (See the *British Critic*, Vol. VIII. p. 309.) Comp. also Vol. III. p. 617, 630, 680, 681, &c.

ence of the language; and after stating in one part of his work that the Law could not be much later than David, tells us in another that parts of it were probably written about the time of the Captivity. Again, at one time we are told<sup>3</sup> that the identity of language between the various books of the Bible proves that they cannot have been written at such intervals of time as they profess to have been; while the very writer who makes this assertion informs us, that the Books of Chronicles were written when the Hebrew of the Books of Samuel and Kings was so imperfectly understood, that the writer of Chronicles made the grossest mistakes in his use of those books. Another critic of the same school informs us, that the author of Joshua (one of the books written in the same style as the Pentateuch, according to the first of these critics) was so imperfectly acquainted with the language, that he entirely mistook the sense of a passage in the first Book of Kings<sup>4</sup>.

I shall, on a future occasion, offer a very few remarks on the utter insufficiency of the grounds on which the language of the Scriptures has been assumed, as a criterion to determine the dates of the various books of the Bible; therefore I confine myself to-day to this simple statement of the in-

<sup>3</sup> Gesenius. See Appendix A.

<sup>4</sup> This circumstance will be more fully considered in the next Lecture.

consistencies of infidel, or at least of irreverent criticism. This list of contradictory conclusions from the same premises, drawn almost entirely from the great writers of the school—a list which it would be easy to double—may serve to shew that however certain the advocates of these opinions may consider the grounds on which they proceed, even the leading writers of their party have been able to establish no single principle of arrangement, to which their scholars are willing to yield obedience. We are not entitled at once to conclude from this disagreement, that their principles are entirely unfounded, and all the applications of them erroneous, because we may be met with the reply, that if one of these hypotheses be true, the others are necessarily false; but we are fairly entitled to say, that it is an act of great rashness and presumption in any man to write a history on one of these fanciful systems, and then proclaim to the world that it is written on principles which command the assent of the great historians and critics of the present age. Yet this is no more than has been done in a series of Lectures, delivered within the last few years, before the University of Berlin, by Professor Leo! It is to this work that I am now about to call your attention. The former discussions about the authenticity of the Pentateuch, I leave in hands far more able to deal with them than mine. They

have now been before the world for many years in the writings of Dr Graves; and the internal marks of truth which may be deduced from undesigned coincidences in the Pentateuch, have lately<sup>1</sup> been argued most ably from this place; so that my object will be merely to supply a view of the present state of the question, derived from sources not touched upon by these writers.

In the former discussions, the difficulties were mainly such as had arisen out of the books of the Pentateuch themselves, and those objections have been fully answered; but the scene of the contest is now partly removed—the same battle which was fought in the wilderness, is now renewed in the plains of Canaan, and the arguments of our opponents are drawn from the earlier historical books of the Old Testament.

The sum and substance of the accusation against the genuineness of the Pentateuch is this, that these historical Scriptures do not recognize the existence of such a system as that which the Pentateuch professes to have established, and therefore that the Pentateuch itself, or part of it, is of later date than these writings. We shall see, on a future occasion, what foundation there is for this assertion; but I must to-day confine myself

<sup>1</sup> Blunt's *Veracity of the Books of Moses, &c.* a work which no one can read without pleasure and improvement.

to answering some of the arguments of the Professor of Berlin<sup>1</sup>.

The system which Professor Leo adopts seems to be the following: that the Pentateuch was composed and compiled, in the first instance, by Hilkiah the Priest, and remodelled by Ezra. It is clear, that while the Book of Joshua stands as an ancient and a genuine book, all these arguments are unavailing<sup>2</sup>, for this book recognizes so large a portion of the Levitical appointments, that our opponents themselves would give up the question, if the evidence of Joshua be admitted as a witness to the state of the Jews previous to the times of the Judges<sup>3</sup>. The Professor, there-

<sup>1</sup> Vorlesungen. Lecture v. p. 55. Lecture vii. pp. 76, 80. Lecture viii. p. 86. These references will enable any of my readers to catch some of the most prominent of his views, but it is not worth while to translate them; the portion which I have chiefly controverted, will be found translated in the Notes on this Lecture.

<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the existence of the Book of Joshua *at any time previous to the Captivity* would be entirely fatal to the scheme of one of these critics (Gramberg), and would be a great inconvenience, at least, to most of them.

<sup>3</sup> I will state here, as fairly as I can, the opinions of Professor Leo on the Book of Judges, although he is not very clear in stating them. (Vorlesungen, Lect. viii. p. 90, 91.) He says, that Judges cannot be a contemporary history, because the language being identical with that of Kings, it is impossible to suppose that it can have lasted unchanged for so many centuries (about 500 years). It is, however, in historical worth to be preferred to Joshua, because it has less adorned the

fore, engages to set aside the genuineness and the antiquity of this book from internal evidence.

the myths it contains. [I must remark here how large a part of Joshua is simply geographical detail; so far is it from *having throughout* a poetical dress. H. J. R.] The legends it contains, having changed their language with the change of times, may still be very old, as far as their substance is concerned. Some parts of it (ch. xviii. 30, 31) cannot have been written before the last years of the kingdom of Judah.

This is the substance of Professor Leo's account of the Book of Judges.

In Lect. v. p. 55, he gives a somewhat different account, for he tells us that much of the Book of Judges supposes nothing but the remains of the old patriarchal state of society, without any of the priestly mixture, which begun to mingle in history about the time of David.

He uses also the account given in the Book of Judges, with regard to Jericho and the Jebusites, as an ancient corrective to the more modern Joshua. I am therefore entitled, though he disclaims in one passage much antiquity for the Book of Judges, to support the expressions which offend him in Joshua by similar ones in Judges. If he tells me they are later additions to the older stories of Judges, why may not a Christian writer suppose the phrase "which is Jerusalem," if it be really later than David, an interpolation in Joshua also, and to have arisen from a marginal explanation? There is another circumstance which requires explanation on the part of the advocates of these new systems. If the Book of Judges and that of Joshua were both written in such late times, as this writer seems to imagine, how are we to account for the different spirit in which he says they are written? If nearly contemporary, while they are both falsified (see Leo, p. 11, and p. 91), why are they not both falsified in the same spirit of priestcraft? Professor Leo attempts to escape from this dilemma by saying that the Book of Judges, being written  
in

He has had the advantage of culling his arguments from the advocates of every different modification of the hypotheses of this new school of history, philosophy, and criticism, and we are entitled to conclude, that he has, as he professes, selected the weightiest arguments he can find<sup>1</sup>.

in the time of the Kings, shews the view which was taken of the patriarchal times (i. e. the times of the Judges, when some remains of patriarchal institutions were in existence) by the generation immediately succeeding them. (Lect. VIII. p. 92). Why did the priests then suffer such a book to remain unfalsified when they wrote Joshua, which, he says, is contradicted by the Book of Judges?

<sup>1</sup> That I may not do the arguments of the Professor any injustice by my statement of them, I here subjoin a translation of the passage in which they occur, as literal as I am able to make it: it occurs, Lect. VIII. p. 87—89, beginning 'Wenn wir,' &c.

"Since we must believe in regard to the Hierarchical Constitution, as it is represented in the Pentateuch, that it received its formation only in the later times of the kingdom of Judah, while the *Book of Joshua* has before its eyes the selfsame Constitution in the selfsame extent—it follows at once, that the Book of Joshua also cannot have been written before the later times of the kingdom of Judah, about 800 years after the time which it describes. In the Book of Joshua itself grounds have also been discovered for this view of the case, of which the following is the sum and substance (deren hauptmomente folgende sind):—

"1. Down to the time of David, Jerusalem was called Jebus, and the Canaanitish inhabitants of this city were called Jebusites. But the Book of Joshua uses the later name Jerusalem, and therefore can scarcely have been written before David.

"2. Down to the time of David, no Israelites dwelt among the Jebusites. (See Judges xix. 11, 12.) When David

He rests his case on four only, which I will now name, one by one, with such short remarks

David conquered Jebus, he allowed the remnant of the Jebusites to dwell intermingled with the Israelites. The Book of Joshua, on the contrary, places the origin of this intermingling of inhabitants as early as the time of Joshua;—it must, therefore, have been written long after David, so that no person remembered at all so distinctly any longer the real historical origin of this circumstance, and it might be taken to have arisen many centuries earlier than it did. [I must observe here that this statement seems to me to suppose Judges to be a very much older book than Joshua. H. J. R.]

“3. In the Book of Joshua, the expressions ‘the Hill of Judah’ and ‘the Hill of Israel’ are used in such a manner, that they appear opposed to each other, and thus betray the times of the division of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel. (See Josh. xi. 16, 17, where the Hill of Israel clearly means only a partial stripe of land.)

“4. In the Book of Joshua it is related, that Joshua, after the destruction of Jericho, proclaimed, that the man who should build up Jericho again should be cursed; he should lay the foundations of it in the loss of his firstborn son, and set up its gates in the loss of his youngest. (Josh. vi. 26). But Jericho comes before us again in the time of the Judges, (Judges iii. 13), where it is called the City of Palms, and Jericho is also mentioned in the time of David, (2 Sam. x. 5). But it was in the time of Ahab that Hiel rebuilt Jericho, and just as it is written in the Book of Joshua: it cost him Abiram, his firstborn son, when he laid its foundations, and Segub, his youngest, when he set up its gates; according to the word of the Lord, which he spoke through Joshua the son of Nun, (1 Kings xvi. 34). It is clear from this passage that the Book of Kings was written after the book of Joshua, but the Book of Joshua must have been written after the re-



upon them as may be needful to shew their inconclusiveness. It must be remembered, that the history contained in the Book of Judges is assumed, by this writer, to be more authentic than that of Joshua (and probably a more ancient composition), and that he makes use of it to correct the statements found in Joshua. I may observe, that most of the critics of this school give a very high antiquity to the Book of Judges; and even Gramberg sets it (together with Genesis and Exodus) nearly as high as the reign of David.

The first argument of Professor Leo is to this effect: 'Jerusalem was called Jebus till the days of David, and its inhabitants Jebusites; but the Book of Joshua uses the later name of the days

building of Jericho by Hiel, unless we choose to suppose that the prophecy of Joshua was not fulfilled on the first rebuilder, but was dormant for a long time, as well as that a prophecy so minute in its detail of the matter (so haarklein berichtend), and one which related to such purely accidental circumstances, existed before the event.' It is likely that a legend of Joshua's curse was in existence, and received a definite application (eine concrete ausführung) in Hiel's misfortune, and found its place in this form in the Book of Joshua."

These are his arguments from internal evidence, and he appeals also to the Levitical spirit of the book. My arguments apply solely to his internal evidences. The Levitical spirit of the book is no argument against its antiquity, till *the antiquity* of the Levitical system (the very point in dispute) is *disproved*.

of David, and cannot therefore have been written before the time of that monarch.'

If the writer of this history will inform us with certainty, *when* and *by whom* the name of Jerusalem was first given to the city, he will solve a problem, which has hitherto received no certain and satisfactory solution, and therefore the mere use of this name is an insufficient argument. It may be well also to remark, that, although no king of Jerusalem is mentioned in the Book of Judges, the name Jerusalem occurs there in more than one place, and precisely in the same manner as in the Book of Joshua, for the name Jerusalem is given as the synonym of Jebus—

"Jebusi, which is Jerusalem," is the phrase in the Book of Joshua (ch. xviii. 28).

"Jebus, which is Jerusalem," is that of the Book of Judges (ch. xix. 10).<sup>1</sup>

The second argument is thus stated:

'Down to the time of David no Israelites dwelt among the Jebusites. When David conquered Jerusalem he allowed the remnant of the Jebusites to dwell among the Israelites. The Book of Joshua,<sup>2</sup> on the contrary, refers the origin of this intermixture to the days of Joshua,

<sup>1</sup> Compare also Josh. xv. 63, with Judg. i. 21; and see 2 Sam. v. 6—9.

<sup>2</sup> See Josh. xv. 63.

and therefore it cannot have been written till long after the days of David, when all traces of the real origin of this intermixture had passed away.'

It would be a sufficient answer to this objection to state, that, upon the Author's own system, the historical notices of the Book of Judges are of more antiquity and worth than those of Joshua, and that it belongs to times which knew nothing of the Mosaic system, and then to add, that whatsoever the Book of Joshua affirms of the intermixture of the Israelites and Jebusites, the Book of Judges affirms exactly the same<sup>1</sup>. But the question, as a matter of historical enquiry and evidence, demands a little closer consideration. The only authority, adduced by Professor Leo, for asserting that no Israelite was dwelling among the Jebusites till the days of David, is a passage in the nineteenth chapter of the Book of Judges, where the Levite refuses to enter into the city of a stranger which is not of the children of Israel; which is perfectly consistent with the statement

<sup>1</sup> See Judg. i. 8, and 21; where, as St Augustine has remarked, a difference is made between Judah and Benjamin. Judah conquered the city of Jerusalem and burnt it, while Benjamin, his brother in arms, was unable to expel the Jebusite from Jerusalem, which therefore probably alludes to a different part of the city. See 2 Sam. v. 6, 9. See the note in page 38.

found in the Books of Joshua and Judges, viz. that, although partially victorious, the children of Judah and Benjamin were *unable to expel* the Jebusites from Jerusalem, but that they dwelt among the children of Israel, retaining a part of the city as a stronghold; and, if we may indulge a probable conjecture, gradually dying away, till they were finally subdued by David, and their miserable remnant allowed to remain in the now conquered city. That remnant had surely long passed away before the days of Hilkiah, or any of the later persons to whom this writer may attribute the Book of Joshua; and nothing could have been more absurd than for a writer, under such circumstances, to assign, as a reason for such an intermixture, that Judah and Benjamin *could not drive* them out. It was more likely that the later reason should be remembered.

To this argument, therefore, no further answer need be given, except to say, that as far as this passage gives any testimony at all to the date of the book, it would rather intimate that its writer knew nothing of the conquest of the Jebusites by David, but lived before that event<sup>2</sup>. This question it must be observed, is by no means

<sup>2</sup> This argument, or one nearly similar, has been used by Bertholdt, Einleit. §. 246. Vol. III. p. 864. Eichorn allows (§. 451) that the passages, which are too late for Joshua, are too early for Ezra.

of recent origin. It is treated of in the works of St Augustine, and resolved in a somewhat similar manner<sup>1</sup>. Before I quit the subject of the age of the Book of Joshua, I may allude to the language in which it is written. It may be as conveniently stated here as in any other part of my argument, that of all the books of the Old Testament, that of Joshua is the most free from Chaldaisms; a circumstance which is, at least, somewhat adverse to the very low date which is assigned to its composition<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Aug. Quæst. in Judices. Quæst. VII. (Vol. III. p. 597. ed. Bened.). The following passage is translated from Winer's *Bibliisches Realwörterbuch*, voc. *Jerusalem*:—

“There are, however, a few remarks to be made on the much controverted question, to which of the tribes the city belonged before the Captivity. According to Josh. xviii. 28; xv. 8; Judg. i. 21, the city was assigned to the dominion of Benjamin, with which Jerem. vi. 1, also agrees; on the contrary, in Josh. xv. 63; Judg. i. 8. 21, &c. the tribe of Judah are named as its occupiers, as also in Jerem. xxxvii. 12. The easiest mode of reconciling these conflicting statements, is, by supposing, that since the Benjamites either could not, or would not, conquer Jerusalem, Judg. i. 21. but Judah did, this latter tribe obtained possession of the city, although it was considered in later times as being upon Benjamite ground.” —Winer's *Bibliisches Realwörterbuch*, Vol. I. p. 324. voc. *Jerusalem*.

<sup>2</sup> Bertholdt, *Einleitung*, Vol. III. p. 861. Zwar hat man in demselben Chaldaismen (v. Aug. *Einleitung*. §. 122.) entdecken wollen, wodurch sich allerdings die Späteren zeiten vor, in und nach dem Exil zu verrathen schienen; aber dem gründlichen Sprachforscher lassen sich dieselben nicht nachweisen.

“Attempts

The third argument simply amounts to this : that the expression, 'the mountains of Israel and the mountains of Judah,' which occurs in the eleventh chapter of Joshua, proves that the writer lived after the division of the two kingdoms. As I do not find the argument very much insisted upon by other writers<sup>3</sup>; and as much has been written on both sides of the question by modern critics, I shall merely remark, that the distinction of the tribe of Judah from the rest

"Attempts have been made to discover Chaldaisms in this book ; by which certainly the later times, before, in, and after the Captivity, appear to betray themselves ; but the deep enquirer into the language is unable to trace these Chaldaisms."

Augusti alludes only to *flexion* and *orthography* ; but without giving any examples, he quotes Hasse as his authority. A clever writer of Zurich has lately given a little treatise on the Chaldaisms of the Bible, in which he collects, into a single view, all such as he is able to find in the books not written professedly in Chaldee. He adduces only one instance from Joshua. I may safely recommend his little work as extremely useful, and his opinion on the origin of these Chaldaisms as at least ingeniously supported. *De Chaldaismi Biblici origine et auctoritate Critica Commentatio. Scripsit Lud. Hirzelius, Turicensis. Lipsiæ. 1830.*

He contends that the Chaldaisms are to be attributed to the Chaldaic origin of the nation in Abraham, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Eichorn, however, lays some stress upon it. Einleit. §. 450. The author of the *Exegetisches Handbuch*, &c. (says Eichorn, in a note on the passage,) sets Joshua in the early part of David's reign ; and in that case, it must have been usual in Hebrew to say, the mountains of Israel (in opposition to Judah), for the mountains of the whole land.

of the tribes, was as early as the Book of Genesis, or rather, as the dying prophecy of Jacob; and that the pre-eminence is assigned to Judah, both in the first and in the twentieth chapter of Judges. There is, therefore, nothing inconsistent in supposing the name of *the mountain of Judah* given to a small tract of hilly country, and the name of *the mountain of Israel* to another, or used as the name of the rest of their land, even on the very first entrance of the Israelites into the land of Canaan. Indeed, Bertholdt argues, that, unless the name Israel had been familiar as a partial name before the days of the division of the kingdoms, it could never have been assumed as the name of the new and rival state. We may also add, that the distinction appears from the books of Samuel to have been common enough in the days of David<sup>1</sup>. This has also been observed by Bertholdt.

<sup>1</sup> Bertholdt Einleitung, §. 246, p. 863; where many reasons are assigned for placing the composition of Joshua previous to the reign of David. I may add, that it is rather curious to find, among the passages where the phrase 'to this day' occurs, the twenty-fifth verse of the sixth chapter quoted as a proof of the lateness of the Book of Joshua! Eichorn tells us that the passage alludes to the descendants of Rahab, which of course it must, if it be added, as Grotius suggests, by Ezra. It certainly seems more probable that such a notice should occur early, when the family would be more likely to be distinguished.

I pass on now to the fourth and last argument. It is drawn from the destruction of Jericho by Joshua. The Professor's argument is divided into two distinct portions—the one relating to the fact of the destruction of Jericho—the other to the prophecy of Joshua against its being rebuilt.

He denies that it could have been utterly destroyed in the days of Joshua, because we read of it again in the third chapter of Judges, under the name of the City of Palm-trees. (Judg. iii. 13). I am willing to believe, on the authority of Deuteronomy (xxxiv. 3), that the city of palm-trees was probably a synonym of Jericho; but since in two or three passages here quoted from Judges and Samuel, nothing is said about the state of the city of palms, or of Jericho, whether only the neighbourhood be meant, or whether some small attempt at rebuilding a city in its neighbourhood had taken place, it is an inconclusive argument against its destruction by Joshua<sup>2</sup>; I therefore pass on to the prophecy of

<sup>2</sup> Jericho was called the city of palm-trees from the palm-groves around it, the soil and situation favouring that tree, which was rare in other parts of Palestine: Leo and others wish to persuade us that palms grew nowhere but there; but this is going rather too far. It is possible that more cities than Jericho may have received this name, and indeed Martini supposes that En-gaddi is meant in Judges and Samuel. The following is his note:

“Giud. i. ver. 16. Ma i figliuoli del Cineo ec. I Cinei  
“discesi da Jethro suocero di Mosè, e da Hobab suo cognato

“si



Joshua, and I will place that prophecy and its fulfilment beside each other, that we may consider the question more fairly.

“Then Joshua adjured them at that time: “Cursed be the man before the Lord, that riseth up and buildeth this city Jericho: he shall lay the foundation thereof in his firstborn, and in his youngest son shall he set up the gates of it.” Josh. vi. 26.

The fulfilment of this prophecy is written in 1 Kings xvi. 34. Thus,

“In his days did Hiel the Bethelite build “Jericho; he laid the foundations thereof in

“si erano incorporati cogli Ebrei, come si è detto *Num.* “xxiv. 21. e aveano avuto per loro stanza la città delle palme, la quale è probabile, che fosse Engaddi, e non Gerico (come alcuni pensano) città distrutta, e da non doversi riabitare secondo quello che leggesi, Jos. vi. 26. Engaddi non era molto lontana da Gerico, ed era celebre anch’ essa pelle sue palme. I Cinei non contenti (per quanto puo vedersi) del loro soggiorno se n’ andarono ad abitare nel deserto appartenente alla tribù di Giuda verso il mezzodì, dove era la città di Avid; onde i Cinei vennero ad abitare presso agli Amaleciti.” Vol. iv. p. 157.

I may refer also to the latest commentator of the Rationalist school for some support: see Maurer, *Commentar über das Buch Joshua*. I must not however congratulate my readers on the support of this writer (Maurer) in all my inferences. He denies only that the mention of Jericho in Judges is a proof that it was not destroyed by Joshua, and talks of a half-destruction, or a destruction of its walls only, &c.; and he adds, that the passages in Judges may just as well be brought to prove that it had been rebuilt.

“Abiram his firstborn, and set up the gates thereof in his youngest son Segub, according to the word of the Lord, which he spake by Joshua the son of Nun.”

On these passages, Professor Leo remarks, that it is self-evident that the Book of Kings was written after that of Joshua, but he thinks that the Book of Joshua was written *after the event* recorded here had taken place, and that as a general curse of Joshua was traditionally remembered, the curse was thus circumstantially introduced into the book.

Now, so far from its being self-evident that the Book of Joshua was prior to that of Kings, this very passage has determined another writer of the same school of criticism, in his belief of the extremely late composition of Joshua! His argument is certainly rather singular. He conceives, that Abiram and Segub having been of great assistance to their father in building the city, their services are commended and commemorated in the Book of Kings, but that the author of the Book of Joshua, being unable to understand this plain passage of his own language, mistook it for an account of their death, and accordingly put this imprecation into the mouth of Joshua, and that some later falsifier forged and interpolated the application of the prophecy of Joshua, with which the verse of Kings closes!

When, however, criticism has advanced so far as to hint, that the writers of one half of the Bible, were utterly unable to construe the other books, and were liable to make the grossest blunders in a common passage of their own language, I confess I am unable to find any weapons wherewith to combat it, or to see the necessity of refuting it at length. The Professor of Berlin, indeed, draws no such absurd conclusions; but I am at a loss to understand how he can gather from this passage a proof that the book was written after the fulfilment of the prophecy, unless he denies the possibility of such a prediction being made and fulfilled. He acknowledges the existence of some such general imprecation traditionally preserved, but he denies that it could be so express, unless it had borrowed its phrase from the actual event; a refinement which certainly requires some evidence beyond his bare assertion to support it.

Such are the strongest arguments against the antiquity of the Book of Joshua which the author of this series of Lectures at Berlin has been able to draw from all the writers who have contributed to the enlightenment of the present age—arguments which, had they not been brought forward by men who profess that the advancement of Biblical criticism has produced a complete revolution in the notions of all men of philosophical

or rational views, would have needed scarcely any answer; for it must be known to the greater part of this assembly, that none of these arguments disclose facts which had never been observed before. They are only new in the purpose to which they have been applied; but they have been considered matters worthy of explanation by writers of perhaps more than two centuries ago, and one of them has been treated of as early as the days of St Augustine. They have long been weighed and valued, and having received their due share of explanation, have been again left in quietness and rest.

I may now proceed to give a few specimens of the unfairness with which the facts of Scripture have been dealt by, in order to establish a contradiction between the various books of the Old Testament. The address of the Lord to Eli: 'Did I plainly appear unto the house of thy father, when they were in Egypt, in Pharaoh's house? And did I choose him out of all the tribes of Israel to be my priest,'<sup>1</sup> is cited by Professor Leo<sup>2</sup> to prove that the establishment of the priesthood *in the wilderness* was unknown to the

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. ii. 27, 28.

<sup>2</sup> Vorlesungen, Lect. vi. p. 66.—"The writer of this book (Samuel) appears to know nothing of the appointment of "the priesthood out of the passage out of Egypt, because he "makes a man of God say to Eli," &c.

writer of Samuel. It is surely pressing this passage rather too hard, to infer that it implies the establishment of the priesthood to have been coincident and contemporaneous with the first appearance here alluded to; but not only is the appearance of God to the house of Aaron recorded in Exodus, but one appearance to Aaron himself is commemorated in the fourth chapter of Exodus, (iv. 27.)

Again, we meet with a simple assertion that Samuel was not of the tribe of Levi, in order to shew (what the rest of the book of Samuel disproves) that the priesthood was then not confined to the family of Levi<sup>1</sup>. Surely this was written in forgetfulness of the genealogy of Elkanah, the father of Samuel, given in the First Book of Chronicles, (vi. 22—29), which traces his family to Kohath, and is there preserved with so little design of supporting the claim of Samuel to a Levitical descent, that it actually omits to call him the son of Elkanah, but simply places his stem the next in order to that of his father. I will quote but one instance more of this unfairness. It is asserted by this writer<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Leo, Vorles. Lect. vi. p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Leo, Vorles. Lect. vii. p. 79. After alluding to the curse of Noah on Canaan, and determining it to be a pure invention due to the national hatred of the Jews towards the Canaanites, he proceeds thus: 'Auf gleiche Weise ist ein

without hesitation, that the origin attributed to Moab in the Book of Genesis, is a mere tale invented to gratify the malignity of a nation at enmity with Moab. On this assertion I have only one observation to offer. Whether this writer believes the Book of Genesis prior or subsequent to the time of David, the Book of Ruth is clearly later than that time; and on what principle will Professor Leo explain the fact, that men, prepared to falsify any document, and to invent any falsehood, traced the descent of their favorite monarch from a hated and a despicable race?

Against arguments of this nature it will hardly be needful to attempt any defence, by bringing forward positive evidence in favour of the commonly received belief. It will not, be requisite to shew the absurdity which would follow from adopting a system (like that of Gramberg) which teaches us that the earliest sacred books of the Jews terminated about the middle of Exodus, and the next written began thus, 'Now after the death of Joshua,' &c.' nor to shew,

ein pures Erzeugniss des Volkshasses die Schandgeschichte der Töchter Loths; sie ist von den Israeliten offenbar erfunden um den Moabiten und Ammonitern, die von den Söhnen, welche Loth in der Trunkenheit mit seinen Töchtern erzeugt hatte, abstammten, einer schmachvollen Ursprung vorwerfen zu können.'

<sup>3</sup> See Vorles. i. p. 7.

as might perhaps be shewn, the dependence of the Book of Judges on that of Joshua. If no newer and no stronger arguments can be brought against the antiquity of that book, it was surely a mode of expression hardly warranted by the facts, to declare that the early history of the Jews has within the last thirty years been examined with more penetration and more thoroughly determined than that of Rome by Niebuhr! One point of distinction ought clearly to be marked out. Whatever Niebuhr may have proved, his work was written on a period of history where authentic evidence was singularly wanting—these hypotheses are formed in contradiction to the oldest documents in existence.

But this boastful assertion points out one of the strongholds of all these systems. They bribe the judgment of their readers by appealing to the superior illumination of the present age. Far be it from me to undervalue any of the discoveries of the age, or to deny that all the sciences dependent on observation, accumulation of facts, and induction, have been pursued with unwonted success; that a multitude of erroneous views have been banished; and that the present age surpasses in such information those which have preceded, as it may, probably, be inferior to those which will follow it;—far be it from me to deny this; but it is only the most shallow

and superficial sophistry which would persuade us that because science has advanced, our belief in the evidence of ancient history must necessarily receive a change; and if we may judge from the specimen which the Lectures of this Professor afford us of the advantages of our own age in philosophical views of moral truth and historical evidence, we shall have no great reason to be proud of our advancement.

The very first supposition on which he builds his own system, proceeds upon, or includes, a misconception of what Christians believe. He tells us, that one of the strongest proofs of the successive and gradual formation of the Levitical system, is derived from the multitude and variety of useless ritual laws which it embraces, because a nation under natural circumstances never invents such subtle refinements, which are always the work of priestcraft, whether it be in Palestine, in India, in Egypt, or in Europe.

If Christians did believe that a nation *in its natural condition* invented such a system, they would justly deserve the taunts of this writer, but, in truth, they see in the early circumstances of the Jews nothing like the natural circumstances of any other people: they believe these laws to have proceeded from a supernatural exertion and interference of God's



providence; and they are borne out in this belief by phenomena which the inventor of every new system is bound to explain, but which none, or very few of them, ever attempt to account for. Christians are entitled to ask, where this rude people, and this juggling priesthood, obtained their just notions of the Unity of the Supreme Being, their sublime conception of his attributes, their moral code, their hatred of idolatry, and of all the filthy and degrading practices with which it has invariably been joined; and all this too in an age so early that their historical literature probably closes long before that of any other nation begins! Till these and a multitude of other peculiarities which draw so broad a line of distinction between their early history and that of every other people with which we are acquainted are explained, any attempt to reduce their historical scriptures to a level with the mythical poems, and the unwritten legendary tales of other nations, is an attempt to bend facts to opinions, hypotheses and prejudices, which would degrade the darkest ages of human ignorance.

The conclusions which Professor Leo draws are worthy of the suppositions from which they spring. In the Laws of the Pentateuch he can see nothing but priestcraft; nothing in the laws against idolatry but the ambition of priests; no-

thing in the regulations which advised rather than commanded the monarch of the Jews to refrain from a multitude of wives, and from amassing treasures, but the intrigues of a priesthood<sup>1</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> See Vorles. iv. p. 42—44; v. 54—62.

In the first passage, after enumerating the laws which limited the king's power, the number of his wives, horses, &c. he adds, p. 43,

"Without soldiery, without money, without retinue, the king of the Mosaic state was to tremble before the priests, and if he wished to retain for a long time, for himself and his family, the enjoyment of the government and of life, he was to reign in accordance with the Book of the Law of the Priests!"

In the next Lecture, after descanting on the nature of an hierarchy, and informing us that the God at the head of an hierarchy is never the mild, forgiving, and benevolent Deity, but the abstract idea of the Divinity, the Divinity considered as the firm and severe source of worldly relations (der abstracte Gedanke der Gottheit, die Gottheit als ein starrer, fester ausgangspunkt weltlichen Verhältnisse), he states further that every hierarchy is essentially persecuting.

But the passage to which I more particularly allude is in p. 57.

Jede Hierarchie ist deshalb schneidend consequent, gefühllos und fanatisch\*. Man versteht unter Hierarchie in der Regel nur eine Verfassung, an deren Spitze Gott gedacht, und durch einen Menschen repräsentirt wird, von welchem aus dann die Strahlen der Macht ausgehen auf alle übrigen Beamten und Glieder dieses Geistlichen Staates. Die neueste Geschichte

---

\* "Thus Josephus says (Antiq. xviii. 1, 6.) of the Pharisees, who under "Judas Galileus were madly eager for the hierarchy: *Θανατων τε ιδεας* " *ὑπομεινεν παρηλλαγμανας εν ολιγῳ τιθενται, και συγγενῶν τιμωριας* " *και φιλων, ὑπερ τοῦ μηδενά ανθρωπον προσαγορευεν δεσποτην.* The "terrorists of all days are alike to a hair."

who would fain be rulers over the king; in the priests and prophets he can see nothing but tur-

chichte hat indess eine der Hierarchie in manchem Betracht ähnliche Verfassung entstehen und fallen sehen, wo jenes geistliche Princip, jener abstrakte ausgangspunkt nicht Gott hiess, sondern die *Tugend* genannt wurde. Auch diese Tugend ward ganz abstrakt aufgefasst, und ihre Forderungen mit fürchterlicher Consequenz durchgeführt. Robespierre, der dieses geistliche Staatsprincip, den abstrakten Gedanken der Tugend, hinstellte und durchführte, er erscheint nur als der Hohepriester dieses Gedankens, welcher im Grund mit dem Gedanken Gottes, wie ihn die Pharisäer fassten, ganz gleich ist. Die Consequenz Robespierre's ist nur die Consequenz jeder Hierarchie.

"Every Hierarchy is, therefore, severely consistent, unfeeling, and fanatical. We understand by hierarchy properly, only a constitution, at the head of which is God, who is represented by a man, from whom the rays of power beam forth on all other officers and members of this spiritual state. Modern history, in very recent days, has seen the rise and fall of a constitution, similar to the hierarchy in many respects, where that spiritual principle, that abstract point, from which all proceeds, was called, not God, but *Virtue*. This *Virtue* was also conceived altogether abstractedly, and her behests executed with terrible consistency. Robespierre, who established and carried on this spiritual principle of government, the abstract idea of Virtue, appears only as the High Priest of this idea, which is fundamentally identical with the idea of God, as the Pharisees conceived it. The consistent severity of Robespierre is only the consistency of every Hierarchy."

The rest of the chapter informs us pretty nearly what we are to understand by the Pharisees here, viz. those by whom and in whose spirit the Mosaic Law was established. I have quoted the original, because in some passages it is difficult to convey the exact meaning, from the difference in the genius  
of

bulent demagogues; and in the theocratic form of government he can see nothing but a parallel—(the blasphemy is his, not mine)—to the reign of Virtue established by Robespierre!

It would be an insult to the understandings of this assembly to offer one word in reply to these views—for to read the Bible is to reject them; and Christian charity would forbid me to give utterance to the feelings of indignation such language is calculated to inspire. The arguments which this writer has advanced I have endeavoured to consider fairly and fully (as far as they bear on this one question), without reference to the conclusions he draws from them; and in bringing them forward here I have but wished to shew that we follow the faith of our forefathers, not from ignorance of the discoveries, as they are called, of our own days, but from examination of the grounds on which they rest; I have but wished to urge those who have leisure and opportunity, to a deeper investigation, and to persuade those who have not, that we ask their faith, not because the hopes of the Bible are pleasant to the human heart, but because its words are truth. We urge, we intreat, the fullest examination from those who have the means of

of the two languages; so that every German reader may be enabled to judge whether I have represented the author's sentiments fairly.

investigation, for we have no fears as to the result. But this we do, because while we believe the words of the Bible to be truth, and nothing but truth, we believe also that those words contain the only purifying principle for, as well as the only abiding source of, consolation; and therefore we feel, that to allow man to be despoiled of his faith in its promises by our neglect, is to inflict the deepest injury upon our fellow-men. It is to suffer a false philosophy to rob them of that which alone can cheer man under sorrow, and sustain him through the trials of life—to rob them of that faith which, when all the blossoms of the spring-time of life are withered and decayed, can alone pretend to breathe a second spring—of that faith, which when the body is weighed down with disease, and the mind with cares, if it cannot restore the frame, can pour freshness and joy into the soul—of that faith, which, when friends, and kindred, and comforters are departed, can alone cure the hollow heart from aching—of that faith which has hitherto proved the only safe guide in life, the only unfailing source of hope in death.

## LECTURE III.

### 2 PETER I. 16.

*We have not followed cunningly devised fables.*

CONTROVERSY is so little fitted for this place, that nothing but necessity will excuse a protracted discussion of subjects which involve only points of evidence, without furnishing any matter of spiritual improvement. But as it was impossible to condense into the limits of one Lecture a general view of the question which was treated of on Sunday last, I am obliged to devote this day also to the completion of our inquiries into the present state of the controversies respecting the early existence of the five books of Moses. Even thus it will be a question but incompetently treated, because it is one where no man can fully judge the weight of arguments except by the laborious investigation of passage after passage, with a view of ascertaining whether they prove the points they are alleged to prove. It is a question which can be carried out only where constant means of reference are at hand; but the general principles on which it has been conducted will admit of

being stated in a general manner here. A few points still remain to be considered, in order that I may be enabled to lay before you some account of the chief arguments<sup>1</sup> which I have been able to find as alleged against the belief that the Mosaic Code, with the exception of some few short interpolations, is of the age of Moses. I am the more anxious to place before you the principles on which our opponents proceed, and to shew in a general manner what appears to me the ground of their unsoundness; because although the wildness of these modern speculations has called forth a host of opponents in the land which gave them birth, I apprehend that the writings of the new school of criticism are better known in this country than those of its opponents, that the poison has often touched where the antidote has been unable to reach.

<sup>1</sup> My own acquaintance with the objections of our opponents is almost entirely derived from their own works, for I have not been very solicitous to seek the works of those who espouse the same side of the question with myself, as I prefer in general considering the objections when they are stated in their utmost strength, and judging of them from the working of my own mind.

I have occasionally looked at a few parts of the following treatises:—

Fritzsche, Christian Friederich. Prüfung der Gründe mit welchen neuerlich die Aechtheit der Bücher Mosis bestritten worden ist. *Leipzig*, 1814.

There are some very acute remarks in this work on the objections made by Vater and Hartmann to the genuineness of  
of

The chief points to which I would venture to draw your attention, in the completion of this sketch, are the following:

of these books, arising from the presumed non-existence of writing materials, &c., and other similar grounds, such as the improbability that the materials of which the tabernacle was constructed should have been found among the Israelites in the wilderness. In §. 8 and 9, Dr Fritzsche collects some of the passages in the later books of the Bible which refer to the Pentateuch. Even Dr Hartmann, who usually is severe enough on those who uphold the old opinions, allows considerable merit to this book. (Hartmann, *Pent.* p. 44, 45.) He will not, of course, allow its arguments to be satisfactory, or its conclusions well-founded, but praises its acuteness, &c. in detached parts. The author is quite a different person from Dr C. F. A. Fritzsche of Rostock, the neological commentator on the New Testament.

Griesinger. *Ueber den Pentateuch*; a work by no means equal in merit to the former.

I have not hitherto been able to obtain the works of Kelle, Hertz, and Pustkucken. The latter, I believe, adopts the notion which has been often taken up on very superficial grounds, that the first ten chapters of Genesis were not written till after the Captivity, but defends the genuineness of the rest of the Pentateuch. Kelle's work is against De Wette, but I expect the most assistance for my future enquiries from the work of Hertz. It is entitled, 'Are Traces of the Pentateuch and of the Mosaic Law to be found in the Books of Kings?' If well executed, this would be an invaluable work.

I have seen Hävernicks Commentary on Daniel, which defends the genuineness, &c. of the book against Gramberg and other writers; but Keil's *Apologetischer Versuch über die Bücher der Chronik und die integrität des Buches Ezra*, Berlin, 1833, I received only a very short time ago; and from consulting it in some parts of the argument in regard to the Chronicles with which I was familiar, I can speak most highly



1. I would make a very few remarks on the use which is said to be made of the Hebrew language in the discussions relative to the Penta-teuch and the Historical Books of the Bible.

2. I would briefly notice the last attempt which has been made to establish one of the new hypotheses on a different basis.

3. I would advance a few instances of the unfairness with which Scripture has been treated in these discussions.

First then, with regard to the language. It would be imagined, from the name of one<sup>1</sup>, at least, of the advocates of the new opinions, that the notions which we are investigating, had proceeded from a discovery of new principles of interpretation, and new laws of grammar, or at least from observation of some peculiarities of language which had hitherto escaped notice, but have now been detected by a more critical observation of the peculiar and distinguishing characteristics of the various periods of the Hebrew

highly of its ability. Every one is doubtless familiar with Dahler's little tract *De Librorum Paralipomenon auctoritate et fide historica*.

I have seen other modern treatises also, which take, in some degree, the same view of these questions with myself, but which it is hardly worth while to enumerate at present. The Introduction of Jahn is too well-known to need notice here.

<sup>1</sup> Dr Gesenius, Professor of Theology at Halle.

language. I am far from denying that something has been done towards a more critical investigation of this subject by the work of Gesenius on the History of the Hebrew Language and Writing<sup>2</sup>; a work to which some of the writers of the new school refer as decisive and final on the subject of which it treats. Now, it is remarkable that this writer, who is expressly appealed to as an authority by Professor Leo, should have given his testimony, as far as it goes, directly against any scheme which brings the Pentateuch down to so late a date as the Captivity. He expressly states that we cannot pretend to ascer-

<sup>2</sup> Professor Leo, who tells us in his preface that a man who had spent his life in the study of oriental languages and people, would have given an incomparably better book than his (which I readily believe), gives us in p. 6 and 7 the following statement. After stating the new opinions on the Pentateuch, he says, "Vater's Commentary and de Wette's *Beitrage zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Essays towards an Introduction to the Old Testament) laid the foundation of this new criticism, and the latter, in part, erected the new superstructure on these foundations—the books of the Old Testament were brought into a new chronological order according to the character of the language, and the political relations which are touched upon in them; and in order to complete the building nothing was wanting but the accession of so deep an enquirer into language as Gesenius, *who has enriched the knowledge of Hebrew with such distinguished works, that no other language can compare with that of the Old Testament in this respect.* The history of the Hebrew language will always remain a chief foundation of the higher criticism as applied to the Old Testament."

tain the age of a book in Hebrew by its language to any great degree of exactness, but that on the whole a broad line of distinction may be chalked out between the books written before and those written during or after it. The observations which he makes on the later forms of the language, apply almost exclusively to those books which, from their subject-matter, profess to be the latest, inasmuch as they treat of the condition, &c. of the Jews subsequently to the Captivity or during it; and hence, whatever weight his authority may have, it is in our favour in opposition to those who would place the books of Moses and Joshua after the Captivity. One remark more may here be made. Whatever effect the Captivity had upon the language, that effect would naturally be to render it more like the Chaldaic dialect; and it is rather remarkable that Joshua should be more free from Chaldaisms than almost any other book of Scripture. This remark is, however, only made as a passing observation; and I proceed to state, that Gesenius, after the above admission, viz. that any very accurate determination of the age of these books by their language is impossible, declares that the Pentateuch and the other Historical Books of the Old Testament (Chronicles, and part, at any rate, of Kings, are excepted) must have been written before the Captivity,

with the exception of some small additions to them. If this be admitted, it strangles at once every hypothesis which sets Deuteronomy and Joshua after the Captivity. The manner, however, in which Gesenius treats the Pentateuch is by no means satisfactory. He first assures us that the language of the Pentateuch entirely coincides<sup>1</sup> with that of the other Historical Books; he then assumes (for it is nothing more than an assumption<sup>2</sup>) that the language cannot possibly have remained unchanged for so long a time as from Moses to the end of the regal government, and therefore he concludes that the Pentateuch, judging from its language, cannot be older than about the time of David. He finds, indeed, as others have found, certain *old forms* in the Pentateuch<sup>3</sup>, to which he attributes weight enough

<sup>1</sup> That is with the exception of two archaisms, which will be mentioned presently.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>3</sup> These are the two well-known instances, the pronoun **זֶה** for the *feminine* (instead of **זֵה**), and **נֶעַר** used for the feminine also, instead of **נַעֲרָה**. This is not universally the case. There are two or three exceptions. **זֵה** occurs Gen. xxxviii. 25, and **נֶעַרָה** Deut. xxii. 19. Gesenius (*Geschichte*, &c. §. xi. 1. pp. 31, 32) observes these instances, and he remarks that these are archaisms, like *terrai*, &c. in Latin, but still contends, from a somewhat similar instance in Chaldee, that they do not *prove a very remote antiquity*. His remark on Deuteronomy is curious: he says, "But that a forced uniformity has been given to the Pentateuch (*lit.* that a conformity-producing hand has been at work) is highly probable,

to induce him to believe it the oldest part of Scripture. These old forms he finds also in Deuteronomy, and yet he informs us that Deuteronomy is a later book. How much later he does not entirely determine, although he attempts to shew something like a conformity of style between this book and the style of the prophet Jeremiah. His reasons for concluding that this book was later than the rest of those attributed to Moses, are the following. He finds *one word* that occurs no where else, except in the later books of the Bible, which proves nothing (even if the instance be allowed<sup>1</sup>), for nearly the same

probable, from the circumstance that these peculiarities are also found in the later book of Deuteronomy." This is assuming the question at once; and it is rather strange that the same archaism which vouches in part for the antiquity of Genesis, is to have no weight in Deuteronomy, but to be attributed to an editor or compiler.

<sup>1</sup> אִשׁ־תָּוֶה in Deut. xxxiii. 2, is the passage to which I allude. Gesenius calls תָּוֶה a *decidedly later word*; and it assuredly occurs besides only in the latest books of the Bible. This is translated 'a law of fire,' 'a fiery law;' but I apprehend that this would require the transposition of these words, as has been often observed, (see Vater in *loc.*) We can understand such a phrase as אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה 'a man of battle,' or 'a warlike man,' but could we elicit any such sense from these words if transposed? The two words have also been considered as one, and several explanations have been offered of the passage so taken. If this be so, there is an end of all arguments raised from the word תָּוֶה; but I confess that this passage is one of those with regard to which I am at present  
unable

thing may be affirmed of Genesis<sup>2</sup>; and as the word is a synonym of a common Hebrew word, and we find in all the older books some few Chaldaic forms, flowing probably from the common origin of the two languages, we cannot allow much weight to this argument.

His next proof is derived from that part of the prophecy of Moses which relates to Judah (Deut. xxxiii. 7.)

He tells us<sup>3</sup>, that from historical circum-

unable to satisfy my own mind, as to the reading itself, and as to its explanation. I am not singular in owning this difficulty, as may be seen in Vater's note on the passage.

<sup>2</sup> In Genesis xlii. 6, the verb וַיִּשָּׁר, he ruled, occurs. Gesenius marks this (Geschichte, p. 29, §. x. 5) as a later and Chaldaic word, and one of those which characterize and distinguish the later Hebrew from the older. I have reason to believe that I could produce a word of the same kind, common only to *Exodus* and the later writers, but as I have lost my reference to the passage I ask no credit for it. I shall give in another place an analysis of the words said to be peculiar to Deuteronomy and the later writers, as given by Hartmann after Gesenius.

<sup>3</sup> Geschichte der Heb. Spr. &c. §. xi. p. 32, note. Compare his Essay de Pentateuchi Samaritani origine et indole, p. 7. I am rather cautious of quoting the latter treatise, because I find from Hartmann, Pent. p. 807, that Gesenius has apparently given up the opinion professed in it as to the time at which the Samaritans received the Pentateuch; an event which he there assigns to the time of Manasseh, the son of Joiada, about 200 years after the Captivity! The reasons he assigns in it for thinking Deut. xxxiii. a production of the times of the Captivity, are chiefly the broken condition of Judah, then apparently a captive, and the greater

stances it appears that the thirty-third chapter of Deuteronomy can hardly have been written before the Captivity, and singles out the seventh verse as the decisive proof of this assertion. It must be remarked on this passage, 'Hear, Lord, the voice of Judah, and bring him to his people,' that this translation is not universally approved of, nor is the interpretation which Gesenius puts upon it by supposing it an allusion to the Captivity, perhaps so certain as he deems it<sup>1</sup>. The prophecy has been referred to the accession of David to the throne, which gave regal dignity to the house of Judah; nor does the phrase of bringing Judah *to his people*, seem remarkably appropriate to the return of the people of Judah to their own land. But, waiving all objections of this nature, and granting that it does apply to that return, I cannot see how the conclusion of this critic is to be maintained, unless he previously assumes that

importance assigned to Levi, while in Jacob's prophecy the case is entirely different, for Levi is blamed by Jacob, and the pre-eminence is assigned to Judah. The conclusions drawn by the neologists from such circumstances afford a very happy specimen of their proceedings, illustrating at the same time the extreme ingenuity of the authors themselves, and the extreme unsoundness and absurdity of their system.

<sup>1</sup> See Durell's *Parallel Prophecies of Jacob and Moses*, pp. 120, 121.

the spirit of God could not and would not forecast such a general allusion by the mouth of his prophets. Of course, the matter in dispute is entirely changed by this assumption, which clearly involves a *petitio principii*; but I am not at present considering arguments of this nature, nor do I think them worth much attention; and I therefore confine myself entirely to ascertaining the worth of those arguments by which the late composition of Deuteronomy is attempted to be shewn independently. These first two arguments of Gesenius, it may be remarked, only affect one chapter; the following affects the whole book.

His last argument amounts to this: that the diction of Deuteronomy is entirely different from that of the other books, and that its characteristics are a broad, rhetorical, and moralizing tone, with a constant recurrence of favorite expressions (Geschichte, §. xi. p. 32). He also asserts that the language and the tone resemble those of the Prophet Jeremiah,<sup>1</sup> and quotes a few phrases

<sup>1</sup> As some of my readers may perhaps wish to judge for themselves of the evidence on which this similarity of language between Deuteronomy and the later writers rests, I here subjoin a detailed examination of *all the words* brought forward by Hartmann to establish this position. I confine myself on the present occasion to the *single words* adduced, without noticing the *phrases*, constructions, and Chaldaic forms, which he has collected, as it would be endless to attempt an analysis of all. Dr Hartmann's list seems to have been compiled after consulting Gesenius,



which he tells us are common to the two. Now, even granting that some conformity of style may

Geschichte, §. 11. The words are ten in number, and are as follow.

1. **וַעֲדָה** 'Commotion.' Deut. xxviii. 25. Occurs also about half a dozen times in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Esther, &c.

It occurs also in Isaiah xxviii. 19. (N.B. The *va* and the *ain* are transposed here, as sometimes elsewhere also).

2. **וְאֵלִים** 'Strange' (Gods). xxxii. 16. The word is common enough elsewhere, but I cannot at present say whether with this ellipse. This is, however, from a poetical part.

3. **יָרֵחַ** 'A month.' xxi. 13. Occurs 1 Kings vi. 36, 37; and in the Second Book of Kings also.

The word occurs in the plural in *Exodus* ii. 3.

4. **לִקְחָה** 'Doctrine.' xxxii. 2. Occurs also Prov. i. 5; iv. 2; and a few times more. In Job, also, xi. 4.

Now Dr Hartmann may perhaps banish Proverbs and Job to the days of the Captivity, but what will he do with Isaiah xxix. 24, where the word also occurs?

5. **נִדְרָדָה** 'Thy outcasts.' xxx. 4. **נִדְרָדָה**, *he dispersed*, is a common verb in many parts of the Bible, as 2 Sam. xiv. 14; Joel ii. 20; (B. C. 800, according to De Wette, but others place him later); Ps. lxii. 5, Micah, Isaiah, &c.

But perhaps Dr H. objects to the word in the shape of a substantive. Let him, then, look at Isaiah xvi. 4, and 2 Sam. xiv. 13.

In Nehemiah the passage of Deuteronomy seems expressly quoted.

6. **פִּי שְׁנַיִם** 'twice as much.' xxi. 17.

N.B. This occurs only twice besides in the whole Bible, 2 Kings ii. 9; Zechariah xiii. 8.

7. **שָׁכַל**.

be found between these two books, which I confess I question very much, or at least to the

7. שָׂכַל. *die junge mannschaft würgen, to murder or, destroy the youth of a country.* xxxii. 25.

This is not a common use of the verb: its proper sense is to *render desolate, childless, (or—bare), to bereave*; which is quite compatible with the passage; the sense of *murdering* being included in it, and being supplied to the next line in the poem thus:

“Without, the sword shall *bereave*, and terrors within;

“(It shall *sweep away*) the young man and the virgin.”

Comp. Lev. xxvi. 22, Hos. ix. 12. וְשָׂכַלְתִּים מֵאֶדָם and I have consumed them so that not a man is left, (or perhaps, *bereaved*). In Lam. i. 20, the half verse of Deuteronomy is *quoted*.

8. שָׁרַף, ‘to root out,’ xxix. 27 or 28.

The phrase used here certainly occurs in Jerem. xii. 14; and the word is common in Jeremiah, but it is a phrase *used long before* the Captivity, for Amos uses it, ix. 15.

I am not aware that the other two words which he adduces are found elsewhere than where he determines them to have been used. They are שָׁרַף, xxix. 18, and שָׁרַף, v. 21. He mentions also שָׁרַף as used in the Hiphil for *lending*, in Deut. xv. 2; xxiv. 10; but the other parts of this verb are so common in the sense of *lending* or *borrowing*, that I do not see how this applies. It will, I think, be granted that my analysis destroys the effect of any argument from Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, which removes *six* instances out of *ten*! The last (שָׁרַף) does not seem to me worth remarking upon, and the rest are of very little value.

extent to which Gesenius and Hartmann push it, the phenomenon would admit of an easy explanation, without recurrence to such an hypothesis as that of Gesenius. The Book of Deuteronomy predicting more fully than the other books of the Law the calamities consequent on idolatry and unbelief, was likely to be more used and quoted by those prophets who saw the fulfilment of these threats and predictions, than the other books. As to the change of style or diction, (not language,) the very nature of the book, consisting in great part of speeches and warnings addressed directly to the Jews, would require a different tone from that of simple narrative, or definite legislation. With regard to the language of Deuteronomy, I have before observed that Gesenius recognised in it the two archaisms which stamp, even in his opinion, a certain degree of antiquity on the other parts of the Pentateuch, but to which in this book he will give no weight at all; and he gratuitously assumes that they are due to some person who was anxious to reduce all the books to the same style—a mode of proceeding which, in the cri-

I put the case, therefore, into the hands of any unprejudiced person, and ask him whether the language is not forced and pressed most unwillingly into the service of the new hypotheses? The absurdity is in endeavouring to distinguish different styles from so small data.

ticism of any other book than the Bible, would hardly be deemed fair or admissible. This is not the place to investigate the value of his researches as to the criticism of the later books of the Bible; whatever may be their use, they do not *tell* here, because he finds none of the later corruptions of the language in the only books which we are now considering, (with the exception of the instances from Deuteronomy, which I have, I hope, shewn to be inadmissible); and therefore we are surely entitled to use his system for our own purpose, so far as to consider the fact tolerably well established, that the language of the Pentateuch and the Historical Books of the Old Testament betrays no marks of a later date. His opinion, however, that we have nothing older than the age of David<sup>1</sup> in the

<sup>1</sup> I have in Appendix (A) §. 1. pointed out some of the difficulties in which, if we adopt any one of the new systems, we are immediately involved by the advocates of the others. I may here also simply suggest an inquiry, whether the Psalms of David are at all like the first efforts of the literature of a people, and whether they do not *presuppose* the existence of parts of the books of Moses? De Wette allows (Lehrbuch, §. 269) some of the Psalms to be genuine, but assigns the Psalms of lamentation to the times just before and during the Captivity (xiv. li. &c. are among those assigned to the Captivity, Lehrbuch, §. 270); but I observe that Gesenius, who appears to have held this latter opinion, has formally retracted it in his preface to Gramberg's *Kritische Geschichte der Religions-ideen*, &c. p. xi. xii. Gesenius

original state in which it was composed, is so far from being universally admitted, that it is directly contradicted by one of the latest and most distinguished of the continental Hebrew grammarians, who finds, or fancies that he finds, in the Song of Deborah and Barak (which he calls *incontestably genuine*), traces of a dialect which betray the part of Palestine from which the author of it came<sup>1</sup>.

I proceed now to notice one of the last attempts with which I am acquainted, to change the opinions formerly prevalent in regard to the age and character of the Hebrew Scriptures. It is entitled 'A Critical History of the Religious

nus says that he has returned on this subject to the old opinion, that the historical circumstances indicated in these Psalms are sufficiently explained by the history of David and his condition with regard to the court of Saul, especially when one considers that the chequered life of David must have offered many situations not related in history, &c. In speaking of the Psalms and the age of David, I must observe, that the two archaisms mentioned in a former note, seem, in some degree, to perplex Vater. If the Pentateuch be of David's age, or only a little before it, they ought to appear in his Psalms also, where they are not to be found. He therefore coolly tells us (Commentar Ueber den Pentateuch, Vol. III. p. 617) that 'the Songs of David in the mouth of 'the priests, where they undoubtedly remained, gradually 'received the turn of expression of a somewhat later age, 'and thus lost those two archaisms, supposing them to have 'first gone out of use after David's time'!!

<sup>1</sup> Professor Ewald. See Appendix (A).

Ideas of the Old Testament<sup>2</sup>; and its chief difference from former systems consists in this, that the author has attempted to settle the date of each book of the Old Testament by the state of religion which it appears to recognise. The mode by which the writer appears to have proceeded is the following. He assumes that the whole Levitical system was of gradual growth. He investigates the appearance of one or two of the opinions of the Jews as they are gradually developed in the different books of the Old Testament, and dates the books accordingly; that book in which the notion is, as he thinks, least formed being the earliest. He then concludes that all the other parts of the Levitical system were also gradually formed; and having thus arranged the books chronologically, he traces the notions chronologically also through the books he has previously arranged. It is needless to

<sup>2</sup> *Kritische Geschichte der Religions-ideen des Alten Testaments* von Dr C. P. W. Gramberg, oberlehrer am Königlich Preussischen Pädagogium zu Züllichau. Mit einer Vorrede von Dr W. Gesenius. *Berlin*, 1829. 2 Vols. 8vo.

I was not aware, when I selected this work for the subject of animadversion, that the author of it was then dead, nor did I know it till the book of Dr Hartmann on the Pentateuch, published at Rostock in 1831, fell into my hands. I thought, therefore, that as the above professed to be only a part of a larger work to be published hereafter, it might be useful to state the nature of the enquiries pursued in it, and the results at which the author had arrived.

say, that with such a system every part of every book that militates against this system (and some passages are, indeed, stubborn enough) is assigned to a later date than the book itself, and thus the dates of the books are partly made the foundation of the arrangement of the notions, and the notions again the foundation of the chronology of the books. A system such as this may exercise the ingenuity of its inventor, but it cannot be a guide to truth; for it is clear, that by this mode of proceeding any preconceived opinions may be found in the books of the Bible, and the whole may be forced into conformity with the results deduced from a part of them only.

This is the writer to whom I alluded in my last Lecture, while I was occupied with the prophecy of Joshua against the rebuilding of Jericho; and a nearer consideration of his criticism on that point will be useful in leading us to an estimate of the manner in which the books of Scripture are criticised in this production. Dr Gramberg supposes both the books of Kings and Joshua to be later than the Captivity<sup>1</sup>, and both of them to have been written at very nearly the same period; and yet he imagines that the writer of Joshua actually misunderstood the verse of Kings in which the account of Hiel is given, by mistaking the use of a preposition, by which he

<sup>1</sup> Gramberg, Pref. p. xxv. xxvi.

converted a statement of *the assistance rendered to Hiel* by his sons Abiram and Segub, into an account of their death! The imprecation, therefore, which is put into the mouth of Joshua is thus accounted for; and the only point which requires further explanation is the last half of the verse of Kings, in which the prophecy of Joshua is quoted or alluded to. He has, therefore, recourse to the notion of a third person, who added the remaining clause at some subsequent period<sup>2</sup>!

The only other instance of his method of bending all to his preconceived opinions which I shall adduce, is the following. It is supposed by many of the advocates of the partition-scheme (De Wette for instance), that the Book of Deuteronomy (or a considerable portion of it) was in existence in the days of Josiah, (unless it was written by Hilkiah, and so pretended to be found,) and that the threats of which we read as causing Josiah to tremble, are some of those denunciations with which Deuteronomy abounds, some of those curses against disobedience to the Law which are more common and more severely expressed in that book than in the other parts of the Law<sup>3</sup>. Now,

<sup>2</sup> Gramberg, Vol. I. Ch. i. §. 14. p. 72. The passages are Joshua vi. 26, and 1 Kings xvi. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Gramberg, Vol. I. p. 305—307. Ch. iv. §. 60. The passages to be consulted are 2 Kings xxii. 18, 19, and 2 Chron. xxxiv. 23—28.



what course does the writer with whom we are now engaged pursue here? He is aware that Deuteronomy affords the most natural solution of the passage in question; but as that will not suit his purpose, he looks for some passages in one of the books assigned to an earlier date in his own arrangement, which may satisfy the conditions requisite to explain the account given in Kings (2 Kings xxii.) He accordingly selects Exodus for the field of his operations, and fixes on a passage in the twenty-third chapter, where the Israelites are commanded to destroy the altars and images of the idolatrous nations, (as they are in Exod. xxxiv. 12—17, to which he refers also,) and the assistance of God is promised to them in driving out these nations from the land of Canaan. He specifies also a portion of the twenty-fourth chapter of Exodus as one to which particular allusion is made in 2 Kings xxxiii. 3, because in both instances a covenant is made and ratified between the Lord and the people! It will be seen at once that these passages do not explain the allusion which they are brought to illustrate, because it is expressly stated in 2 Kings xxii. 18, 19, that the passages at which Josiah

Gramberg refers us to Exod. xxiii. 24, &c. xxxiv. 12—17, and xxiv. 6—8.

The more natural reference appears to me to be to Levit. xxvi. and Deut. xxix. This is the summary of the argument which is expanded in the text.

humbled himself and rent his clothes were those in which it is proclaimed that the land and its inhabitants should become 'a desolation and a curse;' a denunciation proclaimed with terrible severity both in Leviticus and Deuteronomy (Lev. xxvi. 31, 32; Deut. xxix. 23). The author, however, after suggesting that the passover of Josiah was probably derived from Exodus only, then quietly informs us that this supports his arrangement of the books of the Bible, which would be utterly deranged, if Deuteronomy, as De Wette imagines, was the book found by Hilkiah! This reasoning may perhaps satisfy its author, but it will not satisfy us, because by reasoning such as this he may prove anything whatever. If he has the colouring of the picture, and the liberty of removing any object which interferes with his ideas, it is clear that he can always bring it into sufficient keeping. I may further remark, that those who place Deuteronomy after the Captivity, have never yet given any satisfactory account of its reception by the Samaritans: if it was added by Ezra to the canon of the Law, how could it possibly have been received by them<sup>1</sup>?

<sup>1</sup> See Ezra iv. Nehem. iv. I may observe here, that the argument drawn from the Samaritans' acceptance of the Pentateuch is considered by Dr Hartmann (Pent. p. 805—812), who attempts to remove its force. He seems, however, chiefly to confine himself to explaining how it *might become known* among the Samaritans; but one very strong point in this question

because we may ascertain, from the transactions which took place at the rebuilding of the tem-

question is the condemnation of their practice (*e. g.* in using non-Levite priests, &c.), and Dr Hartmann has to account for their *being willing to receive* such a book. His notion is, that either some imitator or follower of the priest mentioned in 2 Kings xvii. 27, who returned to preach the worship of God at Bethel to the Israelites that remained after the Assyrian captivity, obtained a perfect copy of the Law from the college under the high priest at Babylon, as soon as it was collected into a complete volume (!); or else, that after the murder of Gedaliah, when a colony of Jews went to Egypt and carried off Jeremiah with them, Jer. xl—xliv. this colony, either remaining in Egypt or returning to Jerusalem, kept up a communication with the head-quarters in Babylon, and that when they obtained their copy of the complete Law (!) the Israelites or Samaritans obtained one through their means! Dr Hartmann is liberal of the terms 'mere hypothesis,' 'unsupported assertions,' &c. in speaking of Dr Fritzsche and those who support the old opinions, but can any thing better be said for this? The fact is, that those who imagine the Law to be thus late, *must find out* a mode of getting it into the hands of the Samaritans; and this is a specimen of the hypotheses to which they resort.

I can say nothing about the opinion of Gesenius on this point, as I am only acquainted with it up to the year 1815, and Dr Hartmann says he has altered it since. Whatever be the value of his essay on the Samaritan Pentateuch in a critical point of view, in which I believe it calculated to be very useful, nothing can be weaker than it is in its historical introduction; and I do not wonder at his abandoning opinions taken up on such grounds.

In spite of De Wette, Vater, and Gesenius, I cannot but hold Ezra iv. to prove a deadly feud *then existing* between the Jews and the Samaritans, and that it did not arise from the temple at Gerizim; and in spite of the same authorities,

I cannot

ple, that the enmity between the Jews and the Samaritans was of a still more ancient standing. It is sufficient just to hint this difficulty, because the subject has been already most fully handled in the first Lecture of Dr Graves.

The truth is, that these systems all assume that they have proved what they have only attempted to prove, *viz.* that there are *internal* marks in the Pentateuch of a later origin<sup>1</sup> and a

I cannot but think that the fact of the Samaritans receiving a code which condemned their practice (or the Israelites accepting one, which condemned the worship of the calf), is a very strong proof that it had long been in existence, and long known as authentic. Dr Hartmann ought to explain such points as these, rather than inform us that the book of Dr Graves on the Pentateuch is made up of unfounded assertions and reasoning in a circle.

<sup>1</sup> Let me ask, for instance, what can be the use of stringing together a number of passages like the following, and heading them with such a remark as that by which they are introduced: "The wonderful events which followed in "close succession before the exode of the Israelites from "Egypt, are presented to our view as phenomena of ancient "days; *e. g.* Exod. xiii. 8, 9; Lev. xxii. 33; xxv. 55; Numb. ix. 1; xv. 41; Deut. \*i. 30; iv. 37,\* 46; vi. 12; xi. \*2, 3, 10; "(in which latter passage Egypt, from which the Israelites "had come, is painted as a land where they sowed corn, and "which must have been watered by means of machines; and as "the oldest accounts of the Israelites in Egypt speak of them "as a nomad people, this could not have been said by the "better informed Moses,) xv. 15; xvi. 3,\* 12;\* xxiv. 22; "xxvi. 5, 6." (Hartmann. Pent. p. 550, 551.)

I only ask my readers to do as I have done—consult every passage here indicated, and then form their own opinion.

gradual compilation. Having assumed this, they reject those parts of the historical books of the Old Testament<sup>1</sup>, which acknowledge or presup-

opinion. As to the oldest accounts of the Israelites, this remark of Hartmann's is a *petitio principii*, for he will not allow the Scriptures to be called into court to give their testimony. Could the two pursuits, then, not be united in the same nation?

I particularly call attention to those passages which I have marked with an asterisk, because they seem to me utterly to contradict the writer's assertion, *e. g.* Deut. xi. 2, 3:

'For I speak not with your children, &c. which have not seen, &c. the Lord's miracles and his acts which he did in the midst of Egypt, and unto his land.'

Ver. 7. 'But *your eyes have seen all the great acts of the Lord which he did.*' See also Deut. i. 30.

<sup>1</sup> The following translation of a passage which I find in Keil's *Apologetischer Versuch*, p. 265, is so apposite, that I think my readers will not object to its appearance here.

"Nay, even De Wette himself, who at first doubted the genuineness of the Decalogue, has already, though he has remained firm to his former opinion in the main, seen himself obliged, not only to admit that many of the Mosaic Laws may be old and genuine, and that the songs in Numb. xxi. are confidently to be looked upon as original Mosaic documents (Introd. p. 227), but even to throw back the composition of the whole Pentateuch to a time previous to the Captivity, and to recognise a certain trace of its existence in the days of Josiah (p. 243). In this state of things we might, in our argument, suppose the genuineness of the Mosaic Law; but as *the contest, although the end of it may already be foreseen*, is not fully decided, we will, in order to be impartial, place ourselves in the position which our opponents in their attacks in the *Chronicles* ought also to have taken up, and we will declare neither for nor against the genuineness (of the Law). From this position we have  
the

pose (as in the whole of Joshua) the existence of the Law, and then draw arguments against the antiquity of the Pentateuch from the silence of these books concerning it; thus eternally proving the premises by the conclusion, and the conclusion by the premises.

We now come to the last striking circumstance in the mode of conducting these discussions, to which I proposed to draw your attention; and I will close these remarks on the present state of the question by an example or two of the mode of proceeding of which I complain. The Scriptures are not fairly treated in these investigations. Whatever makes for the particular point intended to be proved, is alleged, while, generally, whatever tends to make against it is withheld or unexplained. Schemes are brought forward to obviate one difficulty, while

the undeniable right to require, that no history narrated in the Chronicles which appears to presuppose, or really presupposes, the existence of the Mosaic legislation, shall be rejected, *solely* because in David's time, or even later, the Pentateuch was not in existence; and every assertion of that nature must be thrown aside as a *petitio principii*."

On looking to Keil and Dahler, after these Lectures were written and delivered, I have frequently found that our language and remarks coincided so nearly, our complaints of the mode of proceeding adopted were so similar, that I have been tempted once or twice to confirm my own remarks by the testimony of these writers, who are independent witnesses, as well as men of more learning and better known than myself.

the difficulties attendant on their reception are not explained or removed.

On Sunday last I brought forward one or two examples of this unfairness, as shewn in the writings of Professor Leo. The same examples are to be found in other writers<sup>1</sup>. We are told by other writers also that Samuel was not a Levite, while the account in the First Book of Chronicles, if it is mentioned at all, is attributed to the Levitical spirit of the times in which that book was written<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Hartmann, Pent. 268, 9, on Moab and Ammon.

<sup>2</sup> It would be endless to enumerate the contradictions attempted to be shewn between the Books of Kings and those of Chronicles. Dahler, in his excellent little tract in Latin, has considered those brought forward by De Wette, and Keil has lately gone through the whole question about the books of Chronicles in his *Apologetischer Versuch*, &c. to which I have before referred. Dahler ought particularly to be consulted on the passovers of Hezekiah and Josiah. Dahler, (*De Librorum Paralipomenon auctoritate et fide Historica*. Argentorati, 1819,) p. 131.

A very striking instance of the coolness with which assertions are made as to the contradictions in Scripture, is remarked by Keil (*Apologetischer Versuch*, p. 240). Keil having explained the prophecy of Isaiah xiv. 28, &c. (or *the burden* as it is there called) which was spoken in the year that Ahaz died, by the success of the Philistines in casting off the yoke imposed upon them by Uzziah, (see 2 Chron. xxviii. 18), a conquest mentioned only in Chronicles (2 Chron. xxvi. 6), tells us that Dr Gramberg, after quoting the lamentations of Hezekiah on the miserable condition of Judah at his accession (2 Chron. xxix. 8, 9), adds, "What can the king possibly mean? Judah and Jerusalem were

An etymology is also assigned to the name of Samuel by Dr Gramberg, which seems drawn from his own resources, while the author of the Book of Samuel is made answerable for it, and then arraigned for his ignorance of his own language<sup>1</sup>. This is a specimen of the manner in

were not yet become a desolation and a by-word, &c." Keil simply adds, 'So little does he know of history!' Dr Gramberg's book on Chronicles I have never seen, although having found it in the very useful systematic Catalogue just published by Mr Talboys of Oxford, I was in hopes that I should have been enabled to obtain it, as well as some other treatises, so as to consult them for these notes. My means of consulting foreign publications, more especially periodical works, are in some degree limited, but they are constantly increased by the accessions to the Public Library of the University. No person can pursue any subject at Cambridge which requires access to the stores of foreign literature, without the deepest obligations to the present Librarian of the University, the Rev. J. Lodge, for the readiness with which such views are furthered, as well as for the extensive knowledge and unwearied activity which he has devoted to the improvement of the Library. I obtained Keil's book from Germany only in time to add a few references, as my Lectures are passing through the press, to those parts of it which I am enabled to consult hastily.

<sup>1</sup> Dr Gramberg, *Kritische Geschichte*, &c. Vol. 1. p. 183.

He informs us here that 'the name Samuel is etymologized in 1 Sam. i. 20, as if it was שמואל, and composed of אל, and the *part. pass.* from שמע, which is false, for it comes from שמו, the *stal. const.* of שם'!! The *y* is from Dr G's own imagination. The etymology given in 1 Sam. i. 20 is from שאל, *he asked*, or from אל, God. The words are ותקרא את שמו מִהְיוֹתָ שְׁמוֹ שְׁמוּאֵל בִּי מִהְיוֹתָ שְׁמוֹתָיו 'and she called his name



which the facts of Scripture are dealt with; and it may be followed by another of the mode in which motives are attributed to the writers of Scripture by those who call them to the bar of their own private judgment, accuse, and pass sentence upon them, without hearing a word in their defence. I stated before, that the origin assigned to Moab and Ammon is constantly attributed to the malignant hatred of the Jews towards the Moabites, and is considered a mere idle fable, a gratuitous invention. Connected as the chief person in this awful history was with the Father of the Faithful, and hateful as are all the circumstances of the history itself, a Christian believes that nothing but the stern necessity of truth could have impelled the sacred historian to record it; and assuredly the course which Scripture has taken, in the Book of Ruth, to record the descent of David from the Moabitish

Samuel, for from the Lord have I asked him.' Dr G. was possibly thinking of Ishmael.

I am quite aware that Dr Gramberg would assert that this etymology is equally false with the one which he has devised, but I must leave my readers to judge between a writer of Scripture whose native tongue is Hebrew, and Dr Gramberg, as to the mode in which they will deduce the etymology of a name, notwithstanding the comparison which is sometimes made between the Scripture etymologies and those of Plato in Greek. I only beg, that when the Scriptures are arraigned on this head, they may not be accused for assertions which they do not make.

people, lifts up its testimony against this gratuitous assumption. The hands which forged the one would surely have erased the other, and not have deduced the monarch from whom the Messiah was to spring from a hated and incestuous race. These examples I have before adduced, and they may be followed up by others of the same kind. Thus, for instance, it is assumed that the object of the Book of Numbers, and of other books, assumed like that to be of later composition, was solely to exalt the Levitical priesthood. If this were really so, why was the sinful yielding of Aaron recorded in the Book of Exodus, when the people desired him to make a molten calf? and why did not these falsifying priests hide the disgrace of Korah in darkness deep as the pit that swallowed up his rebellious assembly<sup>1</sup>? But it would be endless to enumerate

<sup>1</sup> I may here, perhaps, be allowed to append a few remarks on the mode in which the history of Joseph is treated by Dr Hartmann. It will serve as a specimen of the manner in which the rest of the Bible is treated by him and by others. According to him, the history of Joseph is a *myth* (the sense in which he uses this word will be shewn at the end of this note). This seems to denote a small portion of truth in an unauthenticated garb of ornament due to the invention of the historian, while, of course, what is *truth* and what is *fable* is left entirely to the judgment of the reader. He tells us that the *literal* truth of the history of Joseph cannot be maintained, for one part of it contradicts the other; viz. Gen. xxxix. 11 contradicts

these assertions. Let the above suffice for a specimen of their mode of proceeding, and let us

verse 14; for in the first it is stated, that when Potiphar's wife tempted Joseph *none of the men were within*, whereas in verse 14 she calls to the men! (Pent. p. 438). One is inclined to question whether a writer can be serious in calling this a contradiction, but the rest of his book quite forbids any doubt upon the point. I leave the dark enigma of a reconciliation between the two passages to the sagacity of my readers, and proceed to observe, that Dr Hartmann condemns this part of Joseph's story, because Potiphar would certainly have killed Joseph, and not have contented himself with imprisoning him! So Dr Hartmann thinks, at least; but if we trust to this sort of argument, every man must write history from his own imagination, and not receive it upon evidence. The next mistake which he finds in this history is, that it attributes a regulation (which from Diodorus Siculus, and other sources, we know to have existed in Egypt) to Joseph, namely, the freedom of the priestly lands from taxes, recorded in Gen. xlvii. 26. This, he tells us, must be attributed to the pride of some arrogant Israelite, for it is inconceivable that the Egyptian monarchs would retain for centuries a law "derived from a stranger and a hated nomad people." Professor Leo would, I have no doubt, tell Dr Hartmann here, that the priests are usually more than a match for the king, (see his Lectures pp. 43 and 81), and that they would maintain a law so evidently to their advantage; but I confess, if one monarch made Joseph chief ruler over the land, I see not why we are to be surprised that his successors adopted his laws.

Thus much, therefore, for the history of Joseph as treated of by Dr Hartmann. I now give his own definition of a *myth*, because the meaning of this word has lately been a matter of dispute. (See Edinb. Review, No. cxxi, p. 223).

"If after these due preparations on all sides we now cast a glance backwards to the range of traditions which  
discloses

advance to another point. If the authors of these systems are unjust toward Scripture in regard to what they find related there, they are no less unreasonable in their inferences from its silence! With them every difference is a contradiction, all silence respecting any custom or observance is a proof of its non-existence<sup>1</sup>. Now

discloses itself to our observation in the Pentateuch, we shall discover in its composition and character (literally its clothing) a theocratic, pragmatic view, (i. e. a view where the maintenance of the theocracy is constantly made the great object), and a narrowminded national pride thrusting itself in at all points, whose penetrating influence has often obliterated the original character of the traditional narration till it is no longer to be recognized, and by the ornaments and imagery introduced into it, brought it (according to the explanation about to be given) into the regions of *Mythos*. This has however, happened less in Genesis than in the rest of the Pentateuch." The original is given that I may not appear to misrepresent the writer's meaning:

Wenden wir jetzt von allen Seiten hinlänglich vorbereitet unseren blick rückwärts in den Sagenkreis, der im Pentateuch der Beobachtung sich öffnet, so gewahren wir in der Auffassung und Einkleidung derselben ebenfalls einen theokratisch pragmatischen Gesichtspunkt und einen überall sich hervordrängenden, einengenden Nationalstolz, deren durchgreifende Einwirkungen den ursprünglichen charakter der mündlichen Erzählungen oft bis zum unkenntlichen verwischt, und durch die eingemischten Verschönerungen und Umbildungen in das Gebiet der Mythe (nach der bald folgenden erklärungs) gezogen habe. Hartmann, Pent. 322, 3.

<sup>1</sup> I cannot refrain from quoting a passage from Prof. Dahler, which I may seem almost to have copied, although I am not conscious of having seen it at the time I wrote  
the

every Christian who believes in the integrity of the books, and the truth of the history of the Old Testament, admits the Law was very imperfectly observed, nay, by a considerable part of the nation was utterly neglected, or united with idolatrous rites, during the period in the Book of Judges, as well as throughout the reigns of some of the earlier kings of Judah. We find it, indeed, recorded in the Book of Judges, that after Joshua arose a generation 'which knew not the Lord<sup>1</sup>,' and that 'the children of Israel' then 'did evil in the sight of the Lord, and served Baalim;' and as they refused to obey the command of the Lord, and drive out the idolatrous nations, but dwelt with them, there is no doubt that all this disobedience was united with other

the above sentences. De Wette attributes the miracle mentioned in 1 Chron. xxi. 26 to the invention of the writer of Chronicles and to his love of the marvellous, &c., because it is not mentioned in the parallel passage in Samuel; on which Prof. Dahler remarks: "*Hoc vero judicium apud eos tantum vim habere potest, qui non reputant hujus generis miracula antiquioribus temporibus plus semel memorari, Lev. ix. 24; Jud. vi. 21; 1 Reg. xviii. 38, ex recentiori vero ævo ejusmodi nullum in libris sacris citari; apud eos porro qui apud se statuerunt miracula nulla unquam facta esse, et propterea illa, quæ in sacris libris memorantur, cuncta in fabularum commentorumque numerum rejiciunt; apud eos denique, qui silentium unius auctoris pro idoneo argumento habent ad fidem alteri derogandam. Nos graviora argumenta postulamus.*" Dahler, p. 65.

<sup>1</sup> Judges ii 10, 11.

instances of neglect. If then no part, or very little, of the previous books had been acknowledged in the history recorded in Judges, what conclusion could have been drawn from this silence? One of the most strenuous advocates of the partition-scheme expressly renounces the conclusion drawn by its other advocates from this circumstance, and adds, that it no more proves the non-existence of the Mosaic Law, or at least of its substance, than the neglect of law during the middle ages proves the Theodosian code a forgery<sup>2</sup>. This is advanced upon the supposition that the facts are as our opponents represent them; but before we conclude we may fairly enquire whether we are justified in entertaining such a supposition even for a moment. Is it then the case, we ask, that the Book of Judges is so silent as to all that is contained in the earlier books of the Bible? Does it record nothing of the deeds of Joshua<sup>3</sup>? Does it tell nothing of the custom of the people of Israel to assemble before the Lord, and to ask counsel of him<sup>4</sup>? Does it record nothing of the priesthood, as being in the family of Aaron, in the person of Eleazar<sup>5</sup>? Does the history of the birth of Samson prove no familiarity with the regulations

<sup>2</sup> Bertholdt.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. i.—iii.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xi. 11; xx. 1, comp. v. 18; xxi. 1, 8, 19.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. xx. 28.

of the Nazarites, as laid down in the Book of Numbers<sup>1</sup>? Does the distribution of the tribes in the song of Deborah and Barak vouch nothing for the divisions assigned by Joshua<sup>2</sup>? Does the address of Jephthah to the people of Ammon prove no acquaintance with the accounts, given both in Numbers and Deuteronomy, of the destruction of Sihon king of Heshbon by the children of Israel<sup>3</sup>? and are these trifling references to meet with in a first superficial glance at a book which contains within twenty pages the transactions of four centuries?

It would be impossible, on the present occasion, to bring forward any thing like a tolerable selection from the passages of the various books of Scripture<sup>4</sup> where the Pentateuch, and even

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xiii. 3—8, 13—15, comp. Numb. vi. 1—22.

<sup>2</sup> It may, perhaps, be said that Joshua was made conformable to this song, but this would be a refinement in the art of dressing up unauthentic documents which is hardly consistent with the disregard shewn elsewhere as to what may *appear* contradictions. It is impossible here to enter on a discussion of the question of the settlement of the tribes. I can only request my readers to compare the arrangement casually indicated by this song (Judg. v.) with the disposition made by Joshua.

<sup>3</sup> Judg. xi. 12—32. The marginal references found at almost every verse of this passage to Numbers and Deuteronomy ought to be thoroughly consulted here to ascertain the weight of this argument.

<sup>4</sup> All persons tolerably well informed on the subject will see at once that such a collection would necessarily be  
a work

the parts of it looked upon with the most suspicion, are referred to. I doubt not that a longer

a work of considerable extent. It would often be impossible to explain the allusions, and shew that they are allusions to the Pentateuch, without what would in many cases amount to something like a dissertation on a single passage: e. g. in Isaiah (xliv. 16) we have the phrase, 'Behold, 'I have graven thee upon the palms of my hands; thy walls 'are continually before me!' Many commentators suppose this to be an allusion to the custom commanded in Deut. (vi. 6, 8, 9), and in that case the passage affords a very strong proof of the prevalence of the custom of writing sentences of Scripture on the door-posts of the house; and the prevalence of the custom supplies us with strong presumptive evidence in favour of the existence of the Law. But it is clear that nothing can be determined on this head, without a very accurate discussion of the whole passage; and Wotton's *Miscellaneous Discourses on the Traditions, &c. of the Jews* (Vol. i. p. 194-204) will shew us that this cannot be done in a small compass.

Again, in the xvth chapter of Ezekiel we find the history of Israel narrated under a kind of allegory, in which she is presented to us under the image of a foundling child, taken up and nurtured by the Lord. Parts of this ought to be compared with the history of the Pentateuch, (especially the dressing of the child in the very colours, &c. used according to Exodus for the tabernacle), and the inference may then, but not till then, justly be drawn that the account given in the Pentateuch had *long* been familiar to the minds of the Jews. These allegorical allusions are not likely to be the offspring of the same season as the histories to which they allude. But here again something like a dissertation would be required.

These examples will shew the nature of the difficulties which would oppose any attempt to perform this task *briefly*; and I am willing to confess that my collection is in far too imperfect



search would give far more than those which I have collected, in those books of Scripture which even the wildest of our opponents grant to have been written in comparatively early times—such as Isaiah, Amos, Micah, Hosea, which are usually believed to have been written, even by these modern critics, (with the exception of part of Isaiah), at the times at which they profess to have been, and in the older books of Judges, Ruth, and Samuel. I will venture to predict, from the beginning which I myself have made, that if any one will undertake so desirable a task, as making a fuller collection than has ever yet been made of those passages which illustrate the Mosaic Law, he will find a series of phenomena for which the previous existence of the Law, and nothing but that previous existence, will account; he will find scattered beams of light, which presuppose a point from which they all diverge! I cannot here bring forward any thing like a tolerable selection from those which I have been enabled to collect myself; and to produce

imperfect a state to be published. If I shall find that my observations on these subjects are considered worthy of attention by those who are qualified to judge of them, I shall endeavour hereafter to devote as much time and care as my health and circumstances will permit me to do, to this most interesting subject, and I trust that my labour will not be in vain, but will contribute something towards strengthening the foundation of the pillar of truth.

a few would weaken rather than strengthen the cause which I have at heart to defend. I am not now *making out* (it must be remembered), or attempting to *make out a case for* the Scriptures; my object has been solely to lay before you the opinions which have prevailed among a certain class of critics for some years, and by stating the line of argument which they pursue, to point out the unsoundness of the foundations on which they build, as well as to shew, by their jarring conclusions, that they have as yet established or proved nothing themselves.

The points on which I have chiefly endeavoured to shew the defect of their evidence, are the following:—

1st. That in the order in which the disciples of the modern school of criticism arrange the books of the Old Testament, while they decide with the utmost confidence they are yet so devoid of any well-grounded and generally acknowledged principles, that they fall, not only into small differences, but into the most palpable contradictions to each other<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> I must refer, for the proof of this assertion, to the notes upon this and the preceding Lecture, as well as to Appendix (A), which will contain a list of the books of the Old Testament as arranged by these modern critics, as well as a series of remarks on that arrangement in the sections following the list.

2dly. That although the existence of the Book of Joshua at a period at all contemporary with the composition of the Book of Judges, would destroy these hypotheses at once, they fail in their attempts to set aside its antiquity, as the strongest proof they give of its later origin is simply that it opposes their hypotheses.

3dly. That so far from founding their system in respect to these parts of Scripture (the Pentateuch and Joshua) on any modern improvements in the criticism of the Hebrew language, that system rather tends to violate the laws their greatest authority has established.

4thly. That they proceed on an assumption which they have not proved, *viz.* that the Pentateuch was of gradual growth; and that in their investigations on the subject they use this assumption to discredit some of the books of Scripture, and then argue from the supposed silence of the rest that their assumption is true<sup>1</sup>.

5thly. That they do not treat Scripture with that fairness which it would deserve were

<sup>1</sup> I must refer again to the notes on these two Lectures, and to Appendix (A), for such evidence as the nature and extent of my work allows me to give, of this and the preceding propositions. Some of the grounds of attack on the Pentateuch not sufficiently noticed in my notes and introduction, will be again touched upon in §. 2 of that Appendix.

it merely an ancient book, and recommended by no strong evidence, and by no approval of the inspired writers of the New Testament.

And lastly, That the silence of the earlier historical books as to the law, is greatly exaggerated.

These are the grounds on which their evidence appears to me to fail; and I have endeavoured, in the notes to these Lectures, to select some of the most striking proofs of my position which I have met with in my enquiries into this question. With the writers themselves I have, of course, nothing to do; our concern lies entirely with their arguments. I have thought it my duty to weigh those arguments with attention, because, although we are not competent to judge of revelation itself, we are gifted with reason and faculties such as will enable us to weigh its evidence. I trust that I have conducted the argument hitherto, as I have intended to do, without bitterness towards my opponents, but without the compromise of any one of our own principles. I can but hope that since the rashness with which these systems have been invented, and the wildness of the spirit in which they have been pursued, have raised up much opposition in the land in which they have chiefly prevailed, their authors may be induced to reconsider their opinions, and to reject them, as they have been

rejected and trampled upon by many of the nobler spirits of their own countrymen<sup>1</sup>. The rich stores

<sup>1</sup> Augusti informs us (*Historisch-Kritische Einleit.* §. 104, p. 155) that the critical enquiries of the last twenty years into the origin of the Pentateuch and the Gospels in their present form, have had but a very confined influence (einen im Ganzen nur sehr geringen Erfolg), and he adds, "it is remarkable that most of the later writers who have delivered their sentiments on this subject, have declared themselves *for* the Mosaic origin of our Pentateuch." In a note he enumerates several of these writers, among whom is Hasse, who in a former treatise (published 1785) had ascribed the composition of the Pentateuch to the time of Ezra, but in his later work (*Entdeckungen in Felde der ältesten Erd. u. Menschengeschichte*, Part II. p. 197) retracts that opinion. For a list of the other writers (Griesinger, Kelle, Stäudlin, &c.) I refer to his note. There is a very striking passage from John V. Müller given in Tholuck's tract 'On the Importance of the Study of the Old Testament,' which I quote from the translation in the *Biblical Cabinet*, Vol. I. p. 199.

'On no book have I reflected so much; no one has afforded me so much pleasure as Moses. Nature is depicted in Moses with as much truth and fidelity as in Homer; in a greater variety of forms also, and in a more familiar dress. No condition of life, no age, no sex, but may find examples and warning in these books. That Ezra wrote the books of Moses is about as true as that *you* wrote them. There is quite another spirit in the ancient law-giver. He wrote every thing for *his* times, for *his* people, and for *his* plan. I have in my mind a multitude of thoughts with which I cannot to-day make you acquainted; this, however, is certain, that I might write a book for Moses and the Prophets against the rabbis and the theologians. For these folks had eyes and saw not; especially were their sensibilities frozen, admitting they ever had any.' Letter to his Brother, *Werke*, Vol. v. p. 78.

of learning with which that land abounds may then be made available to the elucidation, and not to the degradation, of the Scriptures, and we shall profit as much by the instruction poured forth from Germany, as we are delighted with the genius that hovers around its borders.

This wish, and this hope, are the most charitable in which we can indulge, for how great is the loss sustained by those who have no guide in the Book of Life to which they can turn with confidence, no friend to whom they can look for consolation!

Let that volume be considered as a mere collection of unauthorized and uninspired writings, and it becomes what the lifeless corpse is to the living man. It neither hears our voice, nor answers our prayer! There are all the lineaments of man—the limbs, the form, the features! There is the eye, but it sees not! the ear, but it hears not! the lips, but they are dumb! It is valueless as dust and ashes! But let the Almighty breathe into this lifeless clay the breath of life, let his SPIRIT animate its frame, and it becomes a living comforter! a friend and a guide whose wisdom we can adore, whose reproof we can bear, whose tenderness we can prize, whose gentleness we can love! It becomes a living friend into whose ear we can pour the most afflicting of our sorrows, the most secret

of our thoughts—it becomes a monitor, from whose tongue, when we ask its counsel in humility, we shall hear no accents but those of unalloyed truth and wisdom, and whose spirit breathes unfailing love!

---

## LECTURE IV.

---

### 1 TIMOTHY I. 8.

*But we know that the Law is good, if a man use it lawfully.*

THE foundation of our Christian faith is evidence, the foundation of our Christian doctrine is the word of God. It is there written that sin has defaced the fair form which God first gave to man, and which his mercy has promised to restore. It is there told that the world was ruined by sin, and that the Son of God came down from heaven to repair that which man had injured; and this forms the distinctive article of the Christian's creed. But the scheme by which this restoration was to be effected was not confined to the season at which the Son of God appeared on earth, but the Christian believes that from the very earliest days to which the light of history can reach, the Almighty Creator of the Universe has unceasingly exerted a renovating and sustaining power, which while it gave sufficient grace according to the time, was constantly laying foundations deep and



wide for the superstructure of future years. When we consider, indeed, the relative position of God and man, the thought of God's spirit striving with the sons of men is calculated almost to overwhelm the mind. When we know how small a part, even of that which the eye of man can reach, the whole system, to which our world belongs, must occupy, the enquiry of the Psalmist, "What is man that thou art mindful of him?" rises almost spontaneously in the breast, in the painful remembrance of man's insignificance. But, while the harmony pervading the universe, and the exquisite laws to which even the minutest portions of matter are subject, as well as the inconceivable beauty of the contrivances with which even the lowest forms of organized existence abound, proclaim that their Creator is one to whose wisdom the infinity of minuteness affords no difficulty, nor that of multitude any confusion, the consideration of such care bestowed on things of seemingly so small amount, advances us one step towards the removal of this despondency; and Scripture, by suggesting new views which man could not have presumed to form for himself, lifts him up still higher in the scale of being. The Bible raises, as it were, the worm out of the dust, when it declares that man is a living soul, and that he is a being whose everlasting doom is infallibly,

either banishment from all his soul holds or ought to hold dear, or the most exquisite enjoyment of which an intellectual and spiritual nature is capable. The moral nature and condition of man, when properly considered, restore him at once to that rank in the creation which leaves it no insoluble difficulty to imagine, that even omniscience and omnipotence are occupied with his renewal in the likeness of that God, whose glory he was to proclaim; and they crumble into annihilation every fear that in the vast array of worlds the interests of man may be forgotten by his Maker, because the Bible opens to us a contest, of which this world is the scene, and in which the happiness of millions of intellectual beings is at stake. We have no reason to know, or even to conjecture, that such a contest takes place elsewhere! The powers of mind and observation which enable man to weigh the distant planet in his balance, to know its appointed season, to measure its magnitude or to predict its motions, give him no means of assigning its position in the *moral* system of the universe; and therefore if evidence sufficient to satisfy our reasoning faculties be granted that the Almighty has deigned to send his Son to seek and to save them that were lost, we can but acknowledge, with all the gratitude our feeble lips can express, the depth of that mercy and that love which would not that even

one of the least of God's works should perish; and we can but rejoice that the souls of men have been so precious in the sight of their Maker!

But while the Christian, in a spirit of deep humility and gratitude, meditates on the mercy of God in rescuing man from the evil which his own sinfulness had entailed upon the world, he feels also that his only sure ground in reasoning on the ways of heaven must be derived from a contemplation of the actual effects and workings of Revelation. If it shall appear that the effects of Revelation in any case have not been commensurate to the means employed, it will become him further to enquire whether every apparent failure be not attributable to the perverseness of man's nature, which rejects the medicine provided for his sickness, and whether, in spite of all this perverseness, the schemes of God did not advance with majestic strides—whether He who rules the storm did not turn the very fierceness of man's wrath to work his will, and educe the fulfilment of his purposes from the very measures seemingly intended in the counsels of man to contravene them!

Our enquiry concerns itself with the progress of God's gracious purposes in the earlier stages of the world, and is occupied in considering the effects produced on one people, while the light

of Revelation was confined to the narrow limits of their land.

The roll of time is but partly unfolded. On that which is as yet undeveloped it is not for man to speculate, but, as he looks on that which is unfolded, he sees the line of mercy and of covenant unbroken from the days of old to the present hour! It is unbroken from the season when the first rich promises of grace were given to the Patriarchal Church; and though for a moment it is difficult to trace its golden thread through the years when the Church was exiled in Egypt, yet its continuity is no more severed by this than the continuity of a stream is broken by its momentary disappearance. The school of affliction conveys no very useless lesson to the children of men; and they who had known the sorrows of bondage might be supposed more likely to receive with joy the deliverance wrought for them by the almighty arm of God, and so to cleave to Jehovah their deliverer. It was otherwise, indeed, for a season; but although man would sometimes, in his blindness, have severed the golden thread by which alone the human race is linked to heaven, yet from the day of the deliverance of the Jewish Church from the oppression of Egypt, its line runs on unbroken and entire, and connects every part and portion of God's dealings towards his Church with the

other. Be it then our employment this day to trace, in part, the means by which the Almighty has maintained this connexion.

The foundations laid in the Law were wide and deep. When man would avoid one evil, he is constantly liable to fall into the opposite extreme. He sees danger threatening him from one quarter, and, by the very constitution of his nature, while he erects barriers against that which presses most upon him, he leaves the rest of his borders but too defenceless. While he dreads superstition and formalism, he leads the way to fanaticism; and while he dreads fanaticism, he leaves the path but too open to irreligion, or to superstition.

Not so the Master Builder of the Christian Temple! Not so He who laid its foundations in the days of the Patriarchal and the Mosaic Church! If any man, with a full consciousness of the accursed practices of cruelty and impurity which idolatrous rites have entailed upon their votaries, as well as of the universal corruption and horrible depravity which have been their never-failing companions, could behold the Jewish Church, as it journeyed onward alone among the nations, and comparatively few in number, towards the possession of the land in which these practices were rife, would he not tremble at the thought, if he saw only that isolated speck of

time, and were unable to connect in with the years that followed,—would he not stand in awe at the terrible prospect before the world? Would not *his only thought* be how to repel the waves of this one overwhelming ocean, that threatened to swallow up the Church of God within its gaping tide? And in this view he would undoubtedly be justified! for the extirpation of idolatry is one of the great and leading objects of the Law of God, one of the great and lasting benefits which it has conferred on the race of man, though the triumph was but slowly accomplished. Slowly accomplished it was, not because the Law was weak, but because it was only by slow degrees the Law of God was fully accepted, even by his chosen people! For a time, indeed, while the hand of the Lord upheld Moses and Joshua, the Law was obeyed, though even then not without some exceptions, which met their chastisement; but as soon as the command which forbade intermixture with the idolatrous nations began to be disobeyed, from that season the glory of Israel departed, and instead of God leading them on to victory, and filling them with plenteousness, they were again sold under bondmasters, that the stain might be burnt out by the fire of persecution and affliction!

The Book of Judges gives its testimony to the mixture of idolatrous rites with those of the

Law at no very distant period after the death of Joshua, in the molten and graven image of Micah, and his service before them with an ephod and teraphim, in the altar of Baal, which even the father of Gideon possessed, and in the declarations so frequent in that book, that "the children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord, and served Baalim," that they "forsook the Lord, and served Ashtaroth<sup>1</sup>."

It would seem that the years of affliction thus passed had not been left unheeded; for as the history is taken up again in the Book of Samuel, the practices of idolatry appear to be on the wane, and the Law gradually acquiring its hold upon the people again, although there are casual indications of their evil deeds even under the rulership of Samuel. We are there told that the children of Israel did put away Baalim and Ashtaroth, and served the Lord only, which clearly implies a previous relapse into idolatry. The institution of the regal form of government was in part an abandonment of the principles of the Law, although it was an abandonment against which provision had been made in the counsels of the Most High, for it was expressly predicted, and the conditions by which it must be regulated

<sup>1</sup> Among other passages which support the position in the text, see especially Judg. ii. 10—16. Comp. vi. 1, 10; viii. 32—35; x. 6; xiii. 1.

were laid down. But it proved a source of evil, fruitful beyond conception, in the continuation of idolatrous practices, till at length the cup of the nation's iniquity was full, and the people were led away into captivity. After the Captivity the Law was re-established and fully recognized, and we hear no more of idolatry among the nation<sup>2</sup>, or at least of any general apostacy, if we except the season when Antiochus for a time attempted to compel them to idolatry, and to abolish the service of God<sup>3</sup>. Whatever might be the condition of the Jewish people at that season, it was not one in which there was the smallest tendency to idolatry in the nation at large, and it was a condition in which the Law was so scrupulously adhered to, that men perished in battle,

<sup>2</sup> There are, we acknowledge, some passages in the apocryphal books (*e. g.* Wisdom, xiii. &c.) in which idolatry is declaimed against. This was natural enough in a nation still surrounded by idolaters, and under subjection to them, but the passage in the text alludes to a general apostacy among the nation itself.

<sup>3</sup> See 1 Macc. i. 41—64, *et alibi*. (2 Macc. i. 41—64, in Cotton's edition). This occurred about the year 167 B.C.; and an account of it, and of the subsequent transactions, is found in the books of Maccabees. Compare the fifth book of Maccabees, ch. iii. as published by Archdeacon Cotton. I cannot here omit to recommend that excellent and elaborate book (*The Five Books of Maccabees, in English, by H. Cotton, D.C.L. Oxford, 1832*) to all persons requiring full information on this interesting period of history. The notes of Archdeacon Cotton are highly valuable.



may, they submitted without resistance to slaughter, rather than violate the sabbath-day<sup>1</sup>! The punishments which the nation had undergone, from the time that it joined the service of other gods with that of Jehovah, had taught them to cleave to the Law, and their chief danger was now beginning to lie in adherence to its letter, while its spirit was disregarded. The triumph of God's Law over idolatry had been achieved from the time that the second temple had been dedicated, and the Law revived as it had been in the time of Moses.

There is one other circumstance connected with the general features of the Sacred History which deserves record here: the fate of Israel and the faithlessness of the Samaritans in the day of trial to which I have alluded. The kingdom of Israel by its very constitution defied the law of God, and was idolatrous<sup>2</sup>; it fell earlier than the kingdom of Judah, and when it fell it fell for ever! It was more deeply stained with crime than its rival kingdom, and its punishment was more severe! But in the day of persecution, when Antiochus attempted to abolish the service of God, what was the conduct of the remnant of the Israelite tribes that now dwelt in Palestine, under the name of Samaritans? If we may

<sup>1</sup> 1 Macc. ii. 31—39.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph. Ant. Jud. xii. 6, 5, *et alibi*.

believe the testimony of Josephus<sup>3</sup> (although not entirely an impartial witness), they offered to desecrate the temple they had built to Jehovah by dedicating it to Jupiter; and disclaiming all that belonged to the servants of the Lord, were ready to assist their heathen oppressor in binding the fetters of idolatry and corruption upon the subjects of their rival state. Now while we are arguing that the reception of the Law was a complete safeguard against idolatry, the following question fairly suggests itself: How could the Samaritans, who professed to receive the Law alone as their guide, thus fall away at once from their faith? The difficulty is only apparent, and admits of an easy solution. The very establishment of the temple at Gerizim was a *violation* of the Law; and although the circumstances of its origin are involved in some obscurity, its worship could not be carried on without breaking through some of the fundamental regulations of the very volume they professed to receive as their guide—an instance of which we at once recognise in their rejection of the Levitical priesthood.

Although they professed to acknowledge the law, there is no good evidence to shew how far they complied with its commands. But farther than this, their offer of surrendering their religion to the conqueror seems rather the desperate at-

<sup>3</sup> Joseph. Ant. Jud. xii. 6, 5, *et alibi*.

tempt of political hatred to give a fatal blow to their enemies at the moment of their weakness, than any inclination to idolatry. This was an attempt which could only have been made in ignorance or in forgetfulness of the truth, that to sacrifice the cause of God to political hatred is a baseness which sooner or later must recoil upon the heads of those who are guilty of it; a truth which, if they had forgotten it, was brought home to their minds within thirty years of their unhallowed offer, by the utter destruction of the temple they had proposed to desecrate. During the rest of their history we do not hear of their addiction to idolatry. This circumstance, therefore, is hardly to be taken as an exception to the general conclusion, that the Law succeeded in banishing idolatry from the Holy Land for upwards of four centuries before the coming of our Saviour, and before the Jewish people became very much connected by colonies and commerce with the people of Greece and Rome. A casual expression, however, in the first Book of Kings informs us, that even in the worst of times, when the page of history, conversant only with public events and with the general character of the nation, would indicate an almost unmingled state of apostacy and corruption, that there were large bodies of men still adhering to the truth, still unbroken in allegiance to their God!

When the prophet thought that he, even he only, was left, the Lord was reserving to himself seven thousand knees that had 'not bowed to Baal'—a fact sufficient to suggest a certain degree of caution and reserve on our parts in drawing inferences, as to the state of all the inhabitants of a kingdom, from the acts of its monarch and that class of persons from whom the page of history receives its tinge!

Obvious and familiar as these considerations are to the greater part of this assembly, yet there are circumstances which render it of value to trace the rise and fall of idolatry among the chosen people of God through the various portions of their history, because the state of the nation as to its acceptance of the Law is a main feature which serves to characterise its prophecy, as the later prophets are comparatively silent on the subject of idolatrous rites. Thus Isaiah occasionally bursts forth into violent denunciations of idolatry, and Ezekiel, who lived during the season when God's great and last terrible judgment was on his people for their sin, constantly traces their rejection by their God, and their punishment, to the proper cause, namely, the spiritual abominations both of Judah and Israel; while Malachi, the last of the prophets, hardly mentions the subject; so that the his-

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings xix. 18.

tory, and the topics most common in the mouths of the prophets, vouch for and confirm each other. Thus also the character of the New Testament indicates a state of the Jewish people entirely coincident with that which we should expect in a nation where the Law had been scrupulously observed in the letter of its minute commands, while its spirit was disregarded. The great obstacle to the reception of our Saviour's religion was obviously the spirit of *formalism*, against which the greater part of his rebukes are chiefly directed. So effectually indeed had the Law then banished idolatry, that to address an admonition against it to the Jews in our Saviour's time, would seem as superfluous as to denounce the worship of the work of men's hands from this place!

So far, therefore, was this victory achieved by the Law as completely as if that had been its only purpose. To those only who can abstract from all the light, and from the rapid means of communication of modern days, as well as from the knowledge which the free use of God's word imparts, can it be known how hard the contest must have been, or how seducing to a rude people were practices which fed the sensual appetites, and presented to the worshipper a sensuous object instead of an abstract idea—instead of a Being of whom their minds could form no adequate con-

ception! This is a temptation which, alas! even in our own days overpowers the mind of the more ignorant followers of another branch of the Christian Church, however strongly the imputation may be disclaimed by its more enlightened sons<sup>1</sup>.

We have thus traced the history of this effect of the Law through a series of fourteen centuries, and found that from the first it uniformly tended to exclude the hateful practices of idolatry, and finally succeeded in annihilating them; but we should be blind indeed if we did not perceive that this was neither the only nor perhaps the principal object of the Law. It was an effect which necessarily flowed from the adoption of that sys-

<sup>1</sup> On the subject of the Roman Catholic doctrine about images, there are some very able remarks in Dr Philpotts' Letters to C. Butler, especially Letter 3rd. This letter is in reference to the attempts of modern Roman Catholic writers to present the opinion of their church on this subject in the least objectionable form. That the practice of the Roman Catholic church in many cases leads the ignorant to image-worship, and to believe that a prayer offered up before one image is of more avail than that offered before another, it is hardly possible for any man who has been at Rome to doubt. The 'Official Memoirs' by Marchetti will probably explain the extreme popularity of some images. This book gives an account of the miraculous performances of all the images of Italy in *opening and shutting their eyes*, &c. in 1796, as well as the depositions by which these accounts are substantiated! As the book is not very common (neither the original nor the translation), it may perhaps be sufficient to refer to the supplemental Letter of Dr Philpotts contained in the same volume.

tem, but although essentially requisite for any scheme of man's amelioration, it was only one step in the progress towards that object. The moral nature of man was to be elevated, which can be effected only by his restoration to that communion which was once his privilege before sin had estranged him from his God; but what communion could there be between man and his Maker, not only while man's allegiance was doubtful, but even when he had abjured all other gods,—what communion could there be between them except he had learned to approach his God with an humble and a contrite heart? The Law, giving a knowledge of sin, gave also a knowledge of its penalties; but even the moral law was so bound up with a ritual system, that it was impossible for man to escape legal defilement; and the sense of uncleanness in a legal point of view, with which the sense of unholiness was at once a kindred and suggested feeling, was for ever brought home to the mind of every true disciple; and thus the institutions of Moses became a school in which humility might well be learnt. It is a taunt<sup>1</sup> sometimes thrown out against the supposed priestcraft of the Jewish system, that it constantly flattered the pride of their nation by

<sup>1</sup> See Leo, *Vorlesungen*, Lect. VIII. p. 81, &c. 'The meaning of all these laws is, that the Israelite people should be a pure people, its state a priestly state,' &c.

teaching them to believe themselves a pure nation and holy unto the Lord. Had they who cast this taunt against us fashioned their accusation aright, they would have said that the Law, speaking in the name of the Lord, *required the people of the Jews* to be a clean and holy people before Him, but that every man was and must be unclean and unholy when measured by its standard, and only by sacrifice and atonement could his uncleanness be washed away, and his unholiness pardoned! In this is laid the foundation of humility, and so laid that it could scarcely escape those who would meditate upon the Law! and while the sacrifice which was there provided was unavailing of itself to wash away the stains of sin, the heart was taught to look to the brighter promise of a future day, and thus to live by faith! It was taught, at least, to trust its cause with God, in reliance on his mercy, and not on the works and the merits of the children of men!

That humility and faith, two of the chief elements of a Christian character, were thus taught by the Law, I cannot doubt, while I pretend not to determine how far the views entertained by the most holy among the people of Israel may have forestalled some of the great doctrines of Christianity. The character produced by humiliation before God, as well as by faith,



implicit faith in his power to cleanse that which is unclean, and to purify that which is unholy, is a character dependent more on feeling than on mere clearness of perception; dependent also on the reality of the humiliation and on the intensity and strength of the faith, and not entirely on a knowledge of the means by which God works. On such a character the blessing of God descends with grace proportioned to its need! Indeed, the dispensations of God appear to bear proportion to the difficulties with which the people to whom he reveals himself have to contend, by giving to the earlier and ruder people signs and miracles and wonders, such as might awaken the least cultivated minds to a knowledge of God's power, and a sense of his providence, and by leaving later and more enlightened seasons to the natural working of his Law. And hence, the analogy of his dealings almost suggests to us the feeling, that wheresoever faith and humility had been educed, there a corresponding degree of grace sufficient to purify the heart, and sustain the soul under its trials, would be vouchsafed! If we are asked what evidence we can bring forward that these Christian qualities were, if not ripened into fruit, at least advancing towards maturity under the older dispensation, we must remind those who demand such evidence, that these are flowers that court not public view, but rather shed their beauty

and their fragrance around the recesses of private life; and therefore the proofs of their existence must be scanty.

And yet even in the great features of the Jewish history, there are at times indications of the prevalence of feelings very analogous to these among the general body of the people. I allude to the character of the public confessions of the nation in the days when they acknowledged their guilt before God, and prayed for his mercy—when they confessed that they had done wickedly, that he was just and they were sinful; ‘and thus they humbled themselves before him’<sup>1</sup>. We may appeal also to the broken spirit in which the Psalmist pours forth his sorrow from an overflowing breast, to shew that humility and faith were deeply rooted in his heart; and these, the songs of Zion under the older dispensation, stand even now unrivalled in furnishing language for the Christian penitent, a rich storehouse of prayer for the troubled spirit, and of hope for the faithful soul.

The belief in the power of the Law to educe these qualities, must depend in some degree on the feelings of those who contemplate the question, because positive and tangible evidence is scarcely to be expected. These qualities cry not in the streets—their voice is unheard amid the throng of men! If they are sincere they are emotions

<sup>1</sup> See Nehem. ix. and compare Ezra ix. and x.

to which only the secret chamber can be witness! and they are feelings which, even were they proclaimed aloud, history would scarcely have a page to record! I judge chiefly from analogy and from the plain and visible *tendencies* of God's Law; and when I see the mighty stream of God's word flowing onward through dark and tangled ways, but widening as it flowed, till at length its waters were spread into all lands—can I believe that they, the living souls that thronged its banks when as yet its stream was narrow, were still unable to drink the waters of life, and quench their thirst even for a season? They might not, indeed, be enabled to profit by that stream as they who drank to thirst no more! the refreshment which was vouchsafed to them might cause them to thirst more intensely for those living waters, and again they might return to deeper draughts of that, which if it quenched not their thirst for ever, cheered and refreshed them for a season!

One triumph of the Law has now been fully considered; but, like all the agents of God in the world of nature, that Law was not destined for our set of functions alone. The other objects which were attained by its establishment will furnish matter for our thought on future occasions; but it would be a low and incompetent view of God's word (although some of its purposes were

temporary) to believe that all its use has passed away.

The word of God is an everlasting possession for the sons of men! The combat it has once maintained with the weakness of man is obtained for ever, the triumph it has once obtained over his sin is obtained for ever, because it grapples with him in the very depths of his being; and the very commands which were first issued against practices from which we feel no fear at present, may find even among ourselves habits of thought which their voice rebukes, and to which their condemnation applies.

“I, the Lord thy God, am a jealous God,” would be a sentence of no terror now, if that jealousy could be kindled only by our renouncing every claim to the character of reasonable beings, and bowing down to wood and stone! This is not the trial of our days: what trials may await us, we presume not to determine; but among them the spirit of indifference to religion, combined with a zealous pursuit of knowledge, may perchance be one of the most formidable, and to this spirit the jealousy of God addresses its most solemn warnings, its most awful denunciations! It proclaims that one way of safety is opened to the children of men, and that no other path can lead to the gates of Heaven! However man may deceive himself with the belief, that knowledge

alone can elevate his being, he is but building up in his heart an altar at which he offers up the brightest and best gifts which God has bestowed upon him, and he receives in return only perishable treasures.

The one means of elevation to his nature, which is offered to his acceptance, is communion with the Father of Light and Truth, in the earnest prayers of a broken and a contrite heart—the one means of restoration to his lost holiness is the effusion of the Holy Spirit in answer to those prayers! The one way of safety is a life spent under the sanctifying influence of prayer, thus offered up through that Redeemer by whose blood alone he feels that the kingdom of Heaven has been opened to all believers!

*We* bow not the knee to Baal, *we* make not a graven image. Whatever be the idolatry of which we are guilty, it is not that gross form of it in which the Jewish Church sinned, but *we may* be guilty of spiritual idolatry; and when ever we take the guide of life from any other source than God's own word, *we are!* We are guilty, and the jealousy of God will as surely visit our sins as it did those of his chosen people! The provision against our spiritual temptation is as ample as that which God's Law offered against the grosser temptations of the days of old, and we are as strictly bound to use it. The word of

God is destined to preserve his ark, the Church, through all its trials. Whatever wind shall beat against that Church, however wildly the stormy waters may lash its sides—whether fanaticism assail us from one quarter, or indifference from another—the word of God hath power to calm the first, and to stir up the second. Though for a season they may disturb, they cannot destroy—the same protection which for centuries has maintained that Ark entire and unbroken by the waves, will maintain it to the end!

---

## LECTURE V.

## I TIMOTHY I. 8.

*But we know that the Law is good, if a man use it lawfully.*

ONE of the objects proposed in this series of Lectures was to trace the effects produced by the Law of Moses on the Jewish people. In the last Lecture its efficacy was considered in banishing idolatry from one portion of the globe. It was there shewn that, from the season when the Jews had learned in adversity and under punishment to honour the Law of their forefathers, idolatry no longer could lift up its head among them, or, if it obtained a temporary victory, it lifted it up only to be crushed more effectually. It was shewn that the kingdom of Israel, which was more guilty as touching this matter, was sooner destroyed than that of Judah; and that when once destroyed, it was destroyed for ever. It was there shewn that the knowledge of the one true God was thoroughly understood, and his temple-worship duly established, before the time of the appearance of the Messiah; and that

thus an highway was prepared, by which the nations, in their time, might be brought to the knowledge of the living God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ. It was shewn that their punishments were, for the most part, dependent on their non-observance of the Law, and chiefly in the case of their transgressing it by any admixture of idolatrous rites.

And the triumph which was thus achieved, it must be remembered, was no mean triumph; and to human eyes it was one which was often almost lost sight of, though the Lord remembered his purposes. When, for instance, the one people, in whom his knowledge was to be retained, was carried away captive from its own land, or was crushed and bruised by the hand of foreign oppressors even upon the holy soil—who that looked to human instruments alone would have ventured to predict that this people should remain united, and dwell in the land of their forefathers till the Messiah should come, still unmixed with any other people, and still holding the institutions which they had received upwards of fourteen hundred years before? Had there not been some extraordinary element of consistency in their political constitution, they must have yielded to the pressure of such untoward circumstances, and have been annihilated as an independent people. It will be the object



of the present Lecture, in part, to trace the effect which the existence of their Law had with regard to the leading events of their history, and to shew how far it operated as a means of uniting the people. It will lead us, indeed, to a part of their history not very commonly treated of in this place, because we have only apocryphal authority to found our reasoning upon; but as I am about to address myself to an historical rather than a religious question, the writings which are no authority in matters of faith may be fairly adduced in support of facts. It is chiefly with a view to remark on one or two unfair representations made by the enemies of our faith, that I pursue this enquiry.

It must be obvious to every one here, that one of the most usual modes of attack is to confound in name two things which are different in reality, and that nothing is more liable to this abuse than the phrase 'the Law,' which so constantly occurs in Holy Writ, because it is used in more senses than one. It was this which enabled one of the sarcastic sceptics<sup>1</sup> of the last age to ridicule the Law of Moses as a collection of trifling ceremonies and idle precepts. The course he took was this. He selected one or two of the ceremonies of the Paschal Supper,

<sup>1</sup> Voltaire. See *Lettres de quelques Juifs, &c. à M. de Voltaire*, Vol. 1. p. 239, &c. See Leo, *Vorlesungen*, p. 81.

which he misrepresented—(but that is only by the way)—he selected one or two of the ceremonies of the Paschal Supper, and a few of the prohibitions of different kinds of food, and then triumphantly asked, whether a legislation which occupied itself with such trifling matters could have proceeded from God? whether commanding the eating of a lamb dressed with certain herbs, and an abstinence from fish without scales, and from a certain number of animals which it called unclean, were regulations worthy of the Almighty Founder of the Universe, and the All-wise Ruler of all things? No doubt, had there been nothing besides these prohibitions,—had there been no religious remembrances connected with the Paschal Lamb, had the Law of Moses contained no other regulations than those which he mentions,—it would have appeared to human eyes unworthy of the source from which it proceeded. We have before observed, that the subject-matter of any revelation professing to be from God, is hardly the point for man to decide upon, and object to. His views are so limited by time and space, by the circumstances and the prejudices by which he is surrounded, that he is ill adapted to judge of the *nature* of any system of Religion which professes to be from God, and professes to be for distant ages. Of the evidence on which that revelation rests, he

is capable of judging; and this is the point which it behoves him to consider first. This is a general truth, but I acknowledge, in the present state of our religious knowledge, favoured as we have been by an express Revelation like Christianity, resting upon evidence which satisfies the mind, we are in a condition to judge of the nature of *any other* revelation by its congruity with, or its contradiction to, Christianity; and therefore are often entitled to reject a pretended revelation at once, simply because it contradicts the clear tenor of Christianity. But if, in a system like that delivered to Moses, a revelation whose evidence is almost coincident with that for our own religion, we find some appointments for which our miserable reason, our imperfect knowledge, is unable to discover a just cause, we have neither right nor reason to question them, unless we have reason to question the evidence on which they rest. To use the words of Bp. Butler<sup>1</sup>, "objections against Christianity, as distinguished from objections against its evidence, are frivolous." This would have been a sufficient answer to scoffs and taunts like those of Voltaire, had his objections been fairly stated; but when, in order to ridicule a Divine institution, he is obliged almost entirely to sink all mention of the truths which those appoint-

<sup>1</sup> Bp. Butler's Analogy, Part II. Ch. iii. pp. 201, 218.

ments were destined to commemorate, and the truths which Christians profess them to have shadowed forth in types—(as in the case of the Paschal Supper)—when he is obliged to select a few of the ritual laws, without once taking into the account the grounds of expediency, which (if there were no other reason) might have prevented him from ridiculing them, had they been mere human appointments<sup>1</sup>—and, last of all, when he is obliged to sink all mention of the moral and political system, of the civil code interwoven with these laws, and of that summary of human duties in the Decalogue which it were almost blasphemy to think it needful to praise;—then, indeed, the shaft falls powerless from his hand, and we may leave his arguments to the contempt which their exposure must entail upon them. They deserve no farther notice, and I only mention them to shew how favourable an opportunity of scoffing

<sup>1</sup> The expediency and excellence of many of the appointments of the Mosaic Code are shewn in the work of the Abbé Guénée already referred to in '*Lettres de quelques Juifs Portuguais, &c. à M. de Voltaire.*' It is a book which needs no praise of mine; its learning and acuteness have established its reputation, and its great liveliness and pleasantry render it so entertaining, that it will always remain a favourite work. Some of the institutions of Moses are well illustrated and defended both by Michaelis and St Salvador, although these are books which must be read with great caution. I may safely refer those who wish to pursue this subject, to the remarks of my brother in his '*Notices of the Mosaic Law.*'

an indefinite use of the words 'the Law' affords to those who are inclined to take advantage of it. In the present Lecture I do not use it in its peculiarly theological sense, as used in the writings of St Paul, but I use it for the whole Mosaic system, the religious and moral, the ritual, civil and political appointments of which the Pentateuch consists; and its effects on the fortunes and the character of the people, and on their political destinies, previous to the coming of our Saviour, will now occupy our attention. The same writer<sup>1</sup>, whose statements as to the evidence of the genuineness of the Pentateuch I endeavoured to combat in former Lectures, has also spoken of the later history of the Jewish people in a manner which appears to me as erroneous, as it is injurious to the character of the truths revealed in the Old Testament, and he therefore challenges our notice here. His object is to depreciate the Mosaic system, to depreciate all which professes to come from God, and to shew that the brightest era in the history of the Jews is the season when they had been civilized by intercourse with other nations, and had been enlightened in particular by the wisdom of Greece. The period which he selects as the brightest spot in their long and disastrous history, is the time

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Leo, Vorlesungen, Lect. VIII. p. 90.

of the Maccabees—a period which I shall endeavour to analyse hereafter with reference to this notion. I am, on the contrary, disposed to maintain, (and I only appeal to the books of the Bible itself and of the Apocrypha in proof of my assertion) that all the greatness of the Jewish people, in every period when there are deeds to call forth our admiration, is connected with their observance of the Law, and that their sorrows are in great measure to be attributed to their neglect or transgression of its principles. This position must however be carefully guarded: it must be remembered that, lest the Jews should lose the *spirit* of their Law in adhering to its *letter*, another system of revelation ran parallel with it; and the voice of the prophets constantly turned the people and the priests, not only to the observance of the letter, but guided their hearts into a knowledge of the spirit. That this was one purpose of prophecy we shall see at once if we do but turn to the pages of the prophet Isaiah, in a passage which must be familiar to the minds of all. I mean his exposition of the real duties of the sabbath, and the rewards attached to their performance, while he rebukes with words, as it were of living fire, those who make the formal keeping of the sabbath a pretence and a protection to their oppressions, and to their neglect of the weightier matters of the Law, mercy and

judgment<sup>1</sup>! There is also a remarkable passage in the book of the prophet Jeremiah, which, because Professor Leo has quoted and misused it, I will lay before you; it is in the seventh chapter, and in the 21st to the 23rd verses, where the prophet addresses the idolatrous children after this manner.

“Thus saith the Lord of Hosts the God of Israel; Put your burnt-offerings unto your sacrifices and eat flesh.

“For I spake not unto your Fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land, concerning burnt-offerings or sacrifices:

“But this thing commanded I them, saying, Obey my voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people, and walk ye in all the ways that I have commanded you, that it may be well with you.”

Now could it be believed that a portion of this passage, the second verse, where the Almighty declares that he ordered nothing concerning burnt-offerings, could have been isolated from its context, by a writer who pretends to any character of fairness, and seriously adduced in confirmation of his notion, that the Levitical Law was not the production of the age which it professed to

<sup>1</sup> Isaiah Lviii.

be? Yet this is an argument seriously adduced by Professor Leo, to persuade us that the Almighty commanded no burnt-offerings during the passage through the wilderness<sup>1</sup>! It might have been supposed that an expression so completely analogous to that quoted by our Saviour, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice," could hardly have been misunderstood. An idiom so common to the Hebrew language, so common to the mode of their thoughts, as to express the greater importance of obedience than of sacrifices, by saying that the Lord commanded not sacrifice, but obedience, it might have been presumed would not have afforded any difficulty to a person moderately versed in the language of the Old Testament. There is one other circumstance to be taken into the account: the offerings and sacrifices of which Jeremiah here speaks had been profaned (as he remarks in a preceding verse) by being offered, not to God, but to the Queen of Heaven! Is there therefore one shadow of difficulty remaining in the explanation of the passage? Is it not saying at once to the Israelites, Your sacrifices are become an abomination to me by being offered to idols; it was not mere sacrifice and burnt-offering, irrespective of the object of that worship, that I commanded you—the real and essential grace, which my commands were calculated to

<sup>1</sup> Leo, Vorlesung, p. 81.



bestow upon you, was due, not to sacrifice chiefly, but to an obedient heart.

Language to this effect, it is obvious to every reader of Scripture, is scattered through all the prophets, teaching the Jews that the Law was given for their good, but that without an *obedient heart* all its promises would fall away.

Let us now proceed more directly to the subject before us,—the influence which the Mosaic system had upon the great occurrences of the Sacred History.

In the first place, by the very constitution of their government, it was a religious system. Beside all the common ties that link man to his country and his fellow-countrymen, they had the additional feeling imparted by religious remembrances and hopes. The land in which they dwelt—the home of their fathers—was dear to them, not as in other countries, only because it was the home of their fathers and the centre round which all social feelings gather, but because it was the land of promise, the land which the God of heaven and of earth had given to them, and because *there alone*, under the range of the broad heaven, pure incense was offered up to the one true God! This was a feeling interwoven into all their code, both moral and civil, because all proceeded from the same source of truth and good! The conviction that their rule of life and the ordinances of their

government were founded on the word of God, and that on their obedient observance of those rules their prosperity as a nation depended, gave them, in spite of their constantly recurring seasons of disobedience, an attachment to the home of their nation, and to its institutions, which no seductions could alienate, no oppressions or misfortunes extinguish.

I say, no seductions could alienate, because the class of writers whom I would oppose in their attempts to depreciate the Jewish institutions, sometimes suggest that we are mistaken in considering their captivity as a hardship. In effect, say these persons, they were removed to a better land; and, so far from suffering hardships, they were advanced to posts of dignity, while a career of honourable enterprise was opened to their industry and their talents. Be it so; let us grant for a moment that there were no hardships to undergo, but that in this world's good they had exchanged for the better, yet what is the language of the hymns of their captivity? were they in accordance with the earlier feelings of the Jews, when they longed for the carnal delights of Egypt? the voluptuous songs of a people at ease and reveling in luxury? Let the cry that ascended from the banks of the Euphrates give its testimony to the emotions of those from whom it came! Was it the voice of merriment and feasting, or was it

the cry of weeping when they remembered Zion, and of bitter anguish because they could not lift up the voice and sing the song and psalm of praise? And wherefore, then, were they debarred from this exercise of their religious affections? Solely because they were in a strange land! 'If I forget thee, O Jerusalem,' they cried, 'let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy<sup>1</sup>.'

And in accordance with this feeling, the first object which brought back the Jews in any great numbers from the land of their captivity, was the rebuilding of their temple. Compelled as they were, in a foreign land, to submit to the caprice of their rulers in that land, and sometimes to fall down before an image of gold, to defile themselves with idolatry, their heart burned after a country and a temple where no unhallowed step should tread, and from within whose walls no voice but the pure voice of prayer and praise to God should ascend! Now this temple their whole system and constitution fixed at Jerusalem. The law supposed *one place* of public and national worship<sup>2</sup>, and subsequent events had fixed that one place at Jerusalem. This strong

<sup>1</sup> Ps. cxxxvii. 5, 6. Bible Translation.

<sup>2</sup> See Deuteronomy xii. 5, and the parallel passages.

feeling of attachment to the city and the land and the temple of their early years, or of their forefathers, is one effect of the influence of the Law upon the people; and this feeling was especially efficacious in bringing back a sufficient number of Jews to restore the worship and re-establish the constitution of the land from which they had been brought<sup>3</sup>.

The canon of Scripture almost closing with the restoration of the Jewish temple, and the subsequent re-establishment of the government at Jerusalem, which events had occupied a period, from the first attempt of Zerubbabel to the last acts of Nehemiah, of a century<sup>4</sup>, we are left to gather the subsequent history of the Jewish people from less full and authentic sources.

The period succeeding to the age of Nehemiah was undoubtedly one in which the Mosaic system was more fully established than at any former season since the days of Joshua; and for rather more than another century, while the affairs of the Jews were administered by

<sup>3</sup> See the account of the rebuilding of the Temple in Ezra and Nehemiah. I appeal to the spirit in which they acted, as shewn throughout these transactions, and I trust that those who read that portion of the history attentively will find it warrant my conclusions from it.

<sup>4</sup> The decree of Cyrus for the rebuilding of the temple is laid in the year 536 B. C. and the operations of Nehemiah extend from about 445 to 409 B. C.

the priesthood, very few events of weight and importance in the history of the world appear connected with that of Judea. This province was, indeed, subject to the governor of Syria; but the high-priest, as resident in Judea, appears to have administered the affairs of the nation; and under this dynasty they appear to have gathered a strength and consistency which only burst forth into activity and vigour in the age of the Maccabean princes.

The patriotism of these princes, their courage, their self-devotion (as I have before stated), have been represented as due to the improvement of the Jewish character, derived from its intercourse with the Greeks, and to the civilization of the Jews by means of Grecian literature. Professor Leo describes the era of the Maccabean princes as a season when 'the spread of Grecian cultivation through Asia had thrown an ennobling influence even over the Jewish people;' and the virtues and advantages which he specifies as the result of this improvement are, 'their love for the institutions of their ancestors, without any pharisaical attachments, admirable institutions in domestic life, most chivalrous courage, and a warm reciprocal feeling between the governed and the rulers of the people<sup>1</sup>.' For which of these vir-

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Leo, Vorles. Lect. VIII. p. 95. Die Periode der Makkabäer,

tues they were indebted to the effect of Grecian wisdom, it would be difficult to declare, more especially when we read the history in which the deeds of the Maccabean family are celebrated. Oppressed as the Jews had been, and plundered by the contributions levied upon them, the first occurrence which roused the spirit of the nation to resistance was the attempt to force upon them the idolatrous worship of the heathen. It was this which roused the indignation of Mattathias, the first of the Maccabean princes; it was the sorrow which he felt when he beheld the temple not only stripped and plundered, but far worse than stripped and plundered, desecrated by the idolatrous worship of strangers, which first called forth their energies<sup>2</sup>. He lamented that their sanctuary, even

Makkabäer, &c. The following is as literal a translation of the passage as I can give:—

“The period of the Maccabees is that of the greatest spiritual glory (des grössten geistigen glanzes) of the Jewish people; it is no longer the passionate and predatory boldness of the (heroes of) the Book of Judges, nor the pompous royalty of the age of Solomon, that we admire in the Maccabees, but it seems as if *the spread of Grecian civilization over Asia* had exerted a refining and ennobling influence (verschönernde) on the Israelites also.” Then follows the passage I have quoted in the Lecture itself.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. the account given by Josephus, Ant. ch. xii. 8, with that given in 1 Macc. ch. ii. &c. (This forms the *second* Book of Maccabees in Archdeacon Cotton's Edition).

It

their beauty and their glory, was laid waste, and that the Gentiles had profaned it; and he mourned in sackcloth and in ashes the disgrace and the sorrow of his country.

The first deed also by which the resistance to this abominable tyranny was brought to effect, was by slaying one of those idolatrous Jews who was about to sacrifice to idols<sup>1</sup>; a deed done in imitation (as the writer intimates<sup>2</sup>), not of a Grecian patriot, but of the zeal of Phineas.

It is of course unnecessary to refer to so common a book as Prideaux on this subject; but as the *Allgemeine Geschichte des Israelitischen Volks*, 2 vols. 8vo, by M. Jost, is not so well known in this country, I may be permitted to remark, that it is extremely useful for the period of the Jewish History between the close of the canon of Scripture and the times of our Saviour, as well as for the subsequent ages, down to the present day. I cannot agree with some neological opinions expressed in the first volume, but it is valuable to have the opinion of a very learned Jew on the history of his people since the close of their inspired Scriptures. He seems to have diligently searched the Talmudic and Rabbinical sources of knowledge, and to have used them skilfully. He is, as my readers probably know, the editor of the late Berlin edition of the Mishna with points, and with a German translation. I was mistaken in supposing (in a review of Bernard's Maimonides, *Brit. Crit.* No. 26) that the Mishna had not been edited with points previously. There is an edition in 12mo. Had I revised the proof-sheet of that review, I should have corrected this mistake, as well as two errors of the press, viz. *Bientorf* for *Buxtorf*, p. 291-2, and ש"ץ for ש"י, p. 284.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Macc. ii. 24.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 25.

Indeed, the whole history is scarcely more than a constant and zealous struggle of these princes to maintain the true religious institutions of their country; and every sentiment which we meet with in the history seems to proceed from a study of the holy writings of their ancestors, and a zeal for the purity of the Mosaic worship, and the maintenance of the customs of the land.

The domestic institutions of the Jews, as far as they were concerned with education, and the rise of the sanhedrim and other courts, which served to regulate the opinions of a large portion of the people, and to influence them to a constant adherence and a zealous support of their ancient code, will form part of the subject of the next Lecture.

I would only, in conclusion, entreat those to whom this question is a source of any interest, to study the history of the Maccabees as given in the Apocrypha<sup>3</sup>; and candidly endea-

<sup>3</sup> Prof. Leo, p. 95, calls the first Book of Maccabees 'one of the noblest and most beautiful books of the Old Testament'.

There is a wish throughout his work to depreciate all that professes to be of Divine origin; and this sort of praise of the Maccabean age and history is quite intelligible, as it serves to contrast the illumination &c. of the Jews after they had mixed with the Greeks, with their barbarism, ignorance, and superstition previously. See the extract quoted above.



vour to ascertain any sentiments or any opinions which may be justly considered due to Grecian cultivation. Professor Leo indeed seems to ascribe all that is excellent in the public and domestic institutions of those days, and all the courage and patriotism of the Jewish people, to the ennobling influence of their intercourse with the Greeks: I deny the justice of his views, and I commend the difference between us to your impartial consideration. I will therefore simply ask, what motives of patriotism a Jew could need to borrow from the Romans or the Greeks? He had the highest and the purest motive for patriotism—a thorough love and confidence in the religious institutions of his country; and needed he, who could drink for ever from the well of life, to borrow of the impure streams and the broken cisterns of the heathen? Boldness, again, and courage, are surely qualities not so unknown to the Old Testament, that we must recur to other countries for deeds of glory which the Asmonean princes might seek to emulate; and what the Jewish nation could possibly learn from the Gentiles in purity of domestic intercourse, I profess myself utterly unable to discover!

---

## LECTURE VI.

---

### MARK VII. 8.

*For laying aside the commandment of God, ye hold  
the tradition of men.*

IN the last Lecture delivered from this place it was my object briefly to enquire into the effects produced by the Law of Moses on the national history of the Jewish people. I there endeavoured to shew how efficacious it had been in giving to their nation a tenacity of existence which secured them from final destruction till after the promise of the Saviour, which should be to all people, had been fulfilled, and till after the Son of God had appeared among them to claim again to lead them, as their Spiritual Head and King, to a second Canaan, to a better and a more enduring land of rest.

My object on the present occasion will be to review their moral and religious state previous to the coming of our Saviour and during his ministry. We may trace in that period the first faint outline of those corruptions which have since obtained strength and consistency, and ren-

dered *Judaism*<sup>1</sup> a system as different from that which God established—though he established even his system only for a time—as darkness is from light. We shall perceive that it was by departure from the pure and written word of God, and from undue deference to human authority, that the first steps of this error were made; and we may appeal to the authenticated books of the Jewish people since the days of our Saviour, to

<sup>1</sup> It will be seen at once that I use the word *Judaism* here in the sense in which the late Abbé Chiarini had employed it in his 'Théorie du Judaïsme.' In that most interesting and elaborate work he uses it to denote the modern system of Jewish religion and law, as founded on the Talmud and other similar books, in opposition to Mosaism, or the pure doctrines of Moses. Jost (*Allgemeine Geschichte*, &c. Vol. II. p. 525) accuses Chiarini of 'gross ignorance' (grobe unwissenheit), which (he says) he and Dr Zunz have proved. As I have not seen their replies to the Abbé, I cannot pretend to judge between the parties; I can only say that I shall be extremely surprised to find their accusation well-founded. I do not pretend to any deep knowledge of the Talmud, but I have compared some passages in his translation of the first book of it (the בְּרַכּוֹת *Berachoth*, or Blessings, which he published in 2 vols. 8vo) with the original, and I can speak most highly of his fidelity as a translator in every passage I examined. I may also add, on the authority of one, at least, of the first Talmudic scholars in this country (M. Bernard, of Cambridge, the translator of Maimonides), that the preface to this translation shews a most profound and accurate knowledge of all the Hebrew writings of authority. I know no works of our days more calculated to further and facilitate the study of the Talmud than these two, and I regret that the death of the author has closed his career of usefulness so soon.

shew how fearful are the strides which in no very extended portion of time this corruption made.

In a knowledge of some of the great and leading truths of religion—such as the unity of God, as opposed to the polytheism of the heathen—the knowledge of the immortality of the soul, and of the cognizance which God takes of man's actions—in a knowledge of the nature of holiness, of the line that divides moral good from moral evil,—it would be almost a truism to assert the superiority of the Jewish nation over every other people of the ancient world. The knowledge of these great truths it had been the mercy of God to communicate to this people from of old, and so to communicate that they might be impressed upon their minds in a form at once the briefest and most intelligible, as well as fortified and upheld by remembrances the most striking which the mind of man can conceive. These great truths are constantly found interwoven with the ritual and civil code of the Pentateuch, and yet they are so interwoven that the mind may detach and collect them with readiness. Not only in the simple passage selected by the Jews for their daily prayer, from the sixth chapter of Deuteronomy, (beginning, Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one God<sup>2</sup>), and in the Ten Com-

<sup>2</sup> This is the famous prayer which every Jew is bound to repeat every day at certain times, and about the reading of  
of

mandments, which can have been no tax to the weakest memory, are these truths contained and impressed upon the mind, but they meet us besides at every turn, at every passage in the Holy Scriptures of the Law; so that when once the knowledge of that Law was familiar to the people, and the reading of it habitual, it was impossible that these essential truths should be unknown even to the mass of the people. But the Providence of the Almighty had not left a matter of this deep importance to depend on one condition alone, however certain that condition might be of attaining in some degree the desired end; because in the religious instruction of the people every additional engine that can be brought to bear produces a proportional effect. The *mere instruction* in the truths of religion, indeed, except they reach the affections, must be profitless; but the providence of God, among the various precepts of the Law, had commanded this instruction to be given not only publicly, but in that mode in which it was most likely to be influential on the heart—in the pleasant intercourse of domestic life.

“Thou shalt teach these words which I command thee this day diligently unto thy child-

of which so much of the first section of the Talmud is occupied. It consists of Deut. vi. 4—9, xi. 13—22, and Numb. xv. 37, to the end of the chapter.

“ren, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest  
“in thine house, and when thou walkest by the  
“way, and when thou liest down, and when thou  
“risest up,” was therefore a command of God  
founded, like all his eternal commands, upon eternal principles; and this command formed also part of the daily prayer of the Jew. The Lord has here enlisted the strongest feelings of human nature in his own service, and not only to his own glory, but to the boundless aggregate of national improvement, and the unspeakable profit and comfort of the human heart.

If there be one curse more bitter than another to man, it is to be the offspring of an irreligious home—of a home where the voice of praise and prayer ascends not to God, and where the ties of human affection are not purified and elevated by the refining influence of religious feeling—of a home, to which, if the cares or the sorrows of life shall bring religion to the heart in after days, that heart cannot turn without bitterness of feeling, without anguish and vexation of spirit. If there be a curse to any country, where the truths of religion are known, the deepest and bitterest curse which can be inflicted on it is a multitude of homes like that which I have supposed! Such homes send forth their sons unchecked in evil thoughts, unhallowed in their habits, and untaught in love to God—the

name and cross of Jesus Christ stamped perhaps upon their forehead, but not written in their hearts—and they send them forth to prey upon the land, and to become its curse and its destruction. But, on the other hand, there is a blessing to the religious home which no tongue can speak, no language can describe! The home, where in early years the heart is trained to a love of God, and to take pleasure in his worship and service, interweaves with the existence of man holy affections which die not with the circumstances that gave them birth, which last long even though they may for a season be forgotten and neglected, and which exercise at least some check upon the evil of the human heart, and often, nay commonly, recal it to hear again the voice of God, and to return to the paths of holiness and peace!<sup>1</sup> How great, how unspeakable is the happiness of a land where homes like this are common; and such the Almighty had commanded every father of a family to make his house, in the passage of

<sup>1</sup> C'est à notre sexe, sans doute, qu'il appartient de former des géomètres, des tacticiens, des chimistes, &c. ; mais ce qu'on appelle *l'homme*, c'est à dire l'homme *moral*, est peut-être formé à dix ans ; et s'il ne l'a pas été *sur les genoux de sa mère*, ce sera toujours un grand malheur. Rien ne peut remplacer cette éducation. Si la mère surtout s'est fait un devoir d'imprimer profondément sur le front de son fils le caractère divin, on peut être à peu près sûr que la main du vice ne l'effacera jamais. De Maistre, *Soirées de St Pétersbourg*, Vol. 1. pp. 215, 216.

the Law which has just been read. How far this precept was complied with, how far it brought the accomplishment of its purpose with it, the scanty notices of domestic manners which the books of Scripture give<sup>2</sup> will not enable us to determine. It cannot, alas! have been acted up to in the spirit in which it was given, or no such national degeneracy would have disgraced the annals of the people as that of which we read in many seasons of their history.

It is difficult, it is impossible, to ascertain to what extent this precept was complied with; but it must be remembered, that, as a holy life is far more the result of a right direction of the feelings, than of a clear instruction of the intellect, the mere teaching of the knowledge of these truths was of far less importance to the religious character of the people, than their being so taught that they should win upon the hearts of all who received them in their early years, and turn the first warmth and vigour of their affections to holi-

<sup>2</sup> When this was written I had not seen Hartmann's *Enge Verbindung des Alten Testament mit dem Neuen*, Hamburg, 1831, which contains two chapters expressly on the religious education and the public schools of the Jews, pp. 377—413. It is an useful collection of passages from Jewish writers and of references to modern critics who treat of these subjects; but I cannot agree in all the opinions advanced in it. Dr Hartmann expresses the same difficulty which I have stated in the text, from the scantiness of our information, pp. 407, 412.



ness, and to the love and fear of their Creator. We do not find reason, in the casual notices of the New Testament, to decide that ignorance of the great truths of religion was a sin to be laid to the charge even of the less educated multitude of the Jews. The bitter complaint against them is, that knowing the truth they *loved it* not; that while their intellect had been informed, their heart had drawn back from God; that "their heart had waxed gross and their ears dull of hearing;" that they had "closed their eyes, lest at any time they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and should understand with their heart, and be converted<sup>1</sup>," and thus be healed. It was the alienation of the will and the affections from God, of which our Saviour complained in his countrymen, rather than of their ignorance of the principles of their religion<sup>2</sup>. Indeed, whatever incidental notices of the state of religious knowledge among them we do find, bespeak a considerable acquaintance with the Scriptures. A few may be mentioned merely by way

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xiii. 15.

<sup>2</sup> It may occur to some of my readers that this was written in forgetfulness of the saying of our Saviour, in Matt. xxii. 29, 'Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures, &c.' It will be seen, however, on reference to the passage, that this was addressed to the *Sadducees* (both here and in the parallel passage, Mark xii. 24), when they attempted to entangle him by a subtle question on the Law, and that their ignorance was of its spirit rather than of its letter.

of illustration. The young man who asked our Saviour what he should do to be saved, had known and kept the commandments from his youth. Again, the very lowest of those whom Jesus healed, nay even the woman of Canaan, as she pleaded for her daughter, were fully aware that the Messiah was destined to come of the race of David; a truth by no means so prominently set forward in the words of prophecy as we to whom the promise has been fulfilled, and to whom it has become familiar from its fulfilment, usually imagine—a fact of which any one who will read the sermon of Kennicott upon the subject may satisfy himself<sup>3</sup>. No doubt it may be answered, that when once settled on the authority of those whose study was in the Law, this single fact might be spread abroad among the people, and its truth recognized, without any independent research on their part, or even without verification of the passages on which it rests. But we need not appeal to single circumstances—the whole tone of our Saviour's conversations with the people, not merely with the scribes and Pharisees, implies that they were well acquainted with the Scriptures; and if we may appeal to other, but almost contemporary authorities, Josephus, in his writing against Apion, lays it down as a fact which cannot be disputed, that every

<sup>3</sup> Kennicott's Eight Sermons. Serm. 1.

one of his nation, if demanded about their Laws, could answer as readily as he could tell his own name; for, he adds, "every one of us learning them so soon as he come to the use of reason, we have them as it were graven in our minds; and by this means we both offend more seldom, and when we do offend are sure to be punished<sup>1</sup>." Indeed, the external rites which the Law required to be performed had this use, that as they required some study to acquire the knowledge of them, it was impossible that the religious instruction—the great truths which the provident hand of God had interwoven in them—should escape notice.

To this point, therefore, it is needless to address ourselves at greater length; and it may be fairly concluded, that at all events there was a large fund of religious knowledge spread abroad among the people, and had it been seconded by a corresponding disposition in the heart, it would have brought forth fruit abundantly in its due season. Unaccompanied by that inestimable good, it only adds another proof to the melancholy testimony, which human experience almost invariably gives to the fact, that every advance in knowledge, even in religious knowledge, except it be accompanied by a corresponding purification of the affections and the will, destroys rather than saves.

<sup>1</sup> Contra Apionem. II. 19.

But there was still another avenue through which instruction reached a large mass of men in the Jewish nation, besides the domestic instruction of the father's house, and the public worship of God. There was still another channel of instruction, and, alas! a source of corruption also—the schools and the assemblies of those whose study lay in the Law; and we turn therefore to a brief consideration of their effects upon the state of religion among the people. By the constitution of Moses judges were to be appointed in all the gates of the various cities of Judæa; and this office, it would seem, was chiefly assigned to the Levites, as having more leisure, and being more conversant with the Law than the rest of the tribes<sup>2</sup>. When this constitution took effect, and how far it was carried into execution, we have scarcely any account in Scripture itself. We have a notice, indeed, in the second Book of Chronicles<sup>3</sup>, that Jehoshaphat sent orders *to his princes to teach* in the cities of Judah, and that with them also he sent Levites<sup>4</sup>; and in the reign of Solomon we are informed that the number of officers and

<sup>2</sup> See Deut. xvi. 18—21.

For a few remarks on the Levites, in reference to Professor Leo's statements, see Appendix (B).

<sup>3</sup> 2 Chron. xvii. 7—10.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Chron. xxiii. 4. See Jennings' Jewish Ant. Book i. Ch. v. on the Levites.

judges from the Levites was six thousand; but these, and a few statements equally obscure and difficult, are nearly all which occur to guide us in judging of the practice of the earlier ages in regard to carrying into execution this precept of the Law<sup>1</sup>. After the canon of Scripture was once closed, the history of all that took place in the Holy Land, as deduced from the authorities now extant in the Hebrew writings of the Jews, is to the last degree unsatisfactory and obscure. They present but few *historical facts* of a date much anterior to our Saviour, and all which they relate concerning the appointments after the return of the Jews from Captivity, are of very doubtful authority. Still they give incidental evidence of great value as to the period of their history about which our Saviour lived, and a century before his birth, because they attest the rise of a system of traditional authority, which was to supersede the authority of the written word; and thus they attest the justice of our Lord's accusation against the Pharisees of his day, that they made the word of God of none effect through their traditions. The rise of this system may be traced with tolerable certainty to a season about a century, or rather

<sup>1</sup> The following passages will be found worth consulting with a view to this point:

Malachi ii. 6—8; 2 Kings ii. 3—7; iv. 23; Ezek. xxxiii. 31.

more, previous to the birth of our Saviour<sup>2</sup>. The brevity of the Mosaic Code rendered it, as every modern attempt to simplify legislation by abridging laws, by shortening the limits, would lead us to expect, rendered a multitude of interpreters necessary. The multitude of interpreters, and the deference paid to their authority, thus added a multitude of decisions to the simple words of the original Laws. For practice, this was needful; it was necessary, when any doubt existed as to the question whether any particular case fell within the letter and the spirit of the Law, that some authority should be at hand to decide the point, and that general rules should be laid down by which it might be argued. So far the existence of these schools of discipline and law was needful—and they were early established, that in Jerusalem, of course, being the centre of the system, while others were formed in distant places, as a sort of ganglions, through which the vibrations of the central system might be communicated to the extremities. Their use, ere

<sup>2</sup> The best account of these circumstances which has been published lately, appears to me that which is given in Jost's *Allgemeine Geschichte*, &c. to which I have before referred more than once. The beginning of the system is traced, indeed, to an earlier season—the time of Simon the Just, three centuries before our Saviour; but much uncertainty rests on that part of the history.

long, passed into their abuse; and we soon begin to find traces of laws entirely opposed to those which God had given, and traces of a desire in each teacher to make himself a name, and gain a numerous train of disciples to support his views. It must be remembered, that at this season the priesthood was often dishonoured and often oppressed by the princes, whose ambition tempted them to struggle for the uncertain possession of a dependent throne; and that these schools, or courts, were also often subject to the caprice of contending princes, who inclined to that party which seemed most likely to strengthen their cause<sup>1</sup>. These unhappy circumstances tended to withdraw the men, who gave themselves up to the study of the Law, so much from the political events of the day, that the very names of the founders of the two most distinguished schools are utterly unconnected with the history of the times to which they belong, and they might pass, except for their decisions, as two fabulous personages<sup>2</sup>. But this

<sup>1</sup> I must here refer generally to Josephus, Ant. XIII. which contains a history of the transactions which took place from about 146 B. C. to 70 B. C. and to Jost, Allgemeine Geschichte, &c. Books VII. and VIII. especially Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, of the latter Book.

<sup>2</sup> See some excellent remarks on the rise of the Synedria, and on the schools of *Schammai* and *Hillel*, in Jost. Allg. Gesch. VIII. 6. Vol. II. p. 60, &c.

withdrawal from political agitation only directed their desires into another channel; it did not extinguish the desire of distinction; and they turned their thoughts to a more silent course of conduct, but one which entailed more lasting consequences. The desire of forming a name, and of establishing a great reputation, as a discoverer or deliverer of religious truths, occupied the ambition of many among the more learned of the sons of Israel, and to this ambition we may trace the whole system of the ORAL LAW, which ended afterwards in the establishment of a system totally changed from that of the Pentateuch, although *professedly* founded upon it. We meet, among those who are accounted the renovators of the Mosaic Law, (as Simon, or Simeon, the president of the Sanhedrim under Alexander the son of Hyrcanus,) with appointments steadily adhered to and maintained, to which the Law of God gave no countenance. The judgment by which he condemned his own son to death, and when the two false accusers had recanted their testimony, the more than Roman sternness with which he declined to revoke his sentence of death, are still on record. He declined because it had been decided, *that judgment once delivered*<sup>3</sup>, no after testimony could be received; and this de-

<sup>3</sup> See Jost, Vol. II. pp. 14, 15, and the note at the end of this Lecture.



cision gives a most striking instance of the corruption which the Law, even in his days, had undergone by the addition of human authority. From this time to that of our Saviour, a period of about a century, it is a fact which may be established upon evidence, and not merely a matter of high probability, that this tendency to multiply useless, wicked, or superstitious laws, was greatly on the increase<sup>1</sup>.

And thus at length was formed that vast mass of Oral Laws which the fables and the superstitions of later days attributed to God. The Pentateuch, according to the Jewish view of the question, was the written word of God, the Mishna was the *unwritten word of God*, delivered to Moses by the Almighty himself, when he ascended mount Sinai, and dwelt for forty days in the presence of the God of his fathers<sup>2</sup>. Its mis-

<sup>1</sup> See, among other authorities, Chiarini, *Théorie du Judaïsme*, Vol. II. pp. 1—43; and the *Pirke Aboth*, with the notes of Leusden. The doctors who lived in the interval to which I allude, being among those constantly quoted in the Talmud, vouch for the above assertion.

<sup>2</sup> See the first few sentences of the Preface of Maimonides to the *Yad Hachazakah*. In Chiarini, *Théorie*, &c. Vol. II. p. 10, a quotation made by Mendelsohn from the Talmud, in which it is asserted, that when the doctors contradict each other the decision of both parties is the word of God. On *tradition*, or the *unwritten word of God*, as held to be a rule of faith by the Roman Catholics, see Marsh's *Comparative View of the Churches of England and Rome*, Chap. 1.

chievous train of commentaries, on the same authority, are to be considered as decisions so binding, that even God himself has no power to decree otherwise<sup>3</sup>.

Such is a sketch of the mode in which the commandment of God became of none effect through the traditions of men. It is not our purpose here to follow out at length the abominable wickedness to which this substitution of the folly of man for the wisdom of God has led. Our Saviour condemned the system in those memorable words, 'Ye have made the commandment of God of none effect through your traditions.' He could speak indeed only prospectively of the *full measure* of abominations which a reliance on traditions introduced into the religion of the Jews, because it may be shewn, that the *worst* corruptions were of later origin; but *the system* itself had been established in his days; and although the body of tradition had not then been committed to writing, yet there was enough to call forth his condemnation. He himself gives instances of the pharisaical traditions, by which the pure Law of God had been debased; and those instances may be shewn to agree with the general character of the corruptions thus introduced, by comparison with the books in which the Oral Law was committed, at

<sup>3</sup> See Bernard's Maimonides, p. 136.

length, to writing. It would not however be difficult, if time would permit, to shew that the state of society indicated by the New Testament was one where these corruptions had not reached the height to which they afterwards arrived. I may just allude to one circumstance, which gives an unequivocal testimony to this assertion, to the mind of any one acquainted with the later corruptions of the Talmud. The general condition of the female sex, as shewn in the New Testament, the interest which in the New Testament women take in the events of religion, the affecting interviews of our Saviour with the sisters of Lazarus—are evidence of a state of society entirely at variance with what we may almost call the more than oriental depression, which the traditional laws and opinions of the Jews would recommend in regard to that sex, and which, in some parts of Europe, (as for instance in Poland, where the strict traditions of the Talmud are still the guide of a great portion of the Jewish people,) even now afflicts and humbles the daughters of Israel<sup>1</sup>!

<sup>1</sup> The Jews, says Chiarini, Vol. i. p. 245, et seq., admit of no education but that which has the study of the Law for its object, and from this education, by the decision in Kiddushin, xxx. 1, their daughters are excluded; for it is inferred that the use of the masculine gender in Deut. xi. 19, **וְלַמְדֶתֶם אֹתָם אֶת בְּנֵיכֶם** 'and ye shall teach them to your sons,' is meant to exclude the daughters.

This is indeed only a casual indication, but others of the same kind confirm this view, and shew that, although the reliance on tradition was justly condemned by our Lord for the evil it had already introduced, the evils it had wrought in his day were far below those which he foresaw it would produce: these evils, as was before observed, it would be impossible, even were it needful or profitable, to follow out on this occasion. It may be well merely to *state* some of the great branches of corrupt doctrine which tradition thus introduced. It entailed, then, first, the doctrine of infallibility<sup>2</sup>—a tradition which came from God was binding of necessity; but not only were these, but every *decision* of the schools was set on a level with the word of God.

It entailed a belief in the doctrines, that none but Jews are worthy of the care of God, and confounding Christians and idolaters toge-

In the chapter of the *Théorie du Judaïsme* to which I have here referred, there will be found some most interesting remarks on the state of female education among the Polish Jews. It appears that at Warsaw, while there are 215 schools for boys, there is only one for girls, and that out of 27,000 Jews there are only about 80 scholars at this seminary, and that it is more supported by the government than by the Jews themselves. He also describes the domestic education, such as it is, which is given to the daughters of Jews, who educate them at all.

<sup>2</sup> Bernard's *Maimonides*, p. 136. Chiarini, Vol. II. p. 1—12; Vol. I. p. 224, &c.

ther, it would justify their extermination<sup>1</sup>; and in connexion with this same hatred and contempt of all except the commonwealth of Israel, it justified the doctrine of mental reservation in the case of oaths made to Christians, or agreements concluded between a Jew and a Christian<sup>2</sup>.

It will be remembered that the great principle of the Reformation was the rejection of *Tradition*—not the rejection of the voice of antiquity. We hold that the Church of Christ has, by its founder's promise and power, been secured from fundamental error, and that we receive all as truth which we can shew the Church to have believed from the earliest days of Christianity, but we deny that there is any *unwritten word of God* which we are bound to accept, as equally binding with the words of Scripture. We see, at a single glance, how analagous the evils which tradition introduced into the Jewish Church are to those which have sprung from an undue reliance on tradition in the Christian. It is sufficient to suggest this general resemblance; but as controversial discussion with fellow Christians does not enter into the plan of these Lectures, I suggest it only.

<sup>1</sup> See Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, Vol. II. p. 783, et seq. Chiarini, *Théorie*, Vol. I. p. 295.

<sup>2</sup> See Chiarini, Vol. I. pp. 262, 265.

There are two considerations, however, of practical importance, which these views of the state of the Jewish world at the time of our Saviour bring before our minds. Human nature is the same now that it ever was—equally liable to self-deceiving thoughts, equally inclined to substitute formal performances for real conversion of the heart to God.

We are apt to rest in the belief that the *knowledge of religion* will avail us, though it brings not the heart—the moral affections and the will—nearer to God, and thus to indulge the self-same spirit of delusion which led away the chosen nation of God; and it is for us therefore to watch over the inmost thoughts and motions of the heart, and never to be at rest unless we know and feel that we turn to God with more holy affections and more complete devotion of the will as we increase in knowledge, or the same curse which entailed upon the people of Israel that grossness of heart, so that seeing they should not see, and hearing they should not understand, will lie also upon us!

And as we would take warning by this their error, let us remember how dangerous to their peace also was that other delusion, by which they received the traditions of men in place of the one commandment of God; and as we would hope to live in pure faith and holy practice, let us con-

stantly betake ourselves to that book in which alone no error mingles, no false views can be found. Let us hold fast the profession of our faith, and appeal only to *the written word* of God justly interpreted,—being persuaded that the written word contains the only standard to which we may refer our faith, or by which we may guide our conduct<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Two circumstances mentioned in this Lecture require a few words more in explanation of the view I have taken of them—the decision of Simon, and the assertion that the Mishna is the unwritten word of God.

1. From the year B. C. 108, when Hyrcanus (in obedience to the suggestion of Jonathan the Sadducee) depressed the Pharisees by a decree abolishing their traditions, to the end of the reign of his son Alexander, B. C. 79, the *Pharisees* and *tradition* were less esteemed. (See Prideaux, Part II. Book v.) Simon, however, the brother-in-law of the king, the person mentioned in the Lecture, used his influence as president of the Sanhedrim to moderate the assaults of the Sadducees as much as possible, because he was favourable to the Pharisees. It appears probable, however, that he was obliged to fly to Alexandria, and wait there till the death of Alexander, A. D. 79, and was recalled by his sister Alexandra, (Jost, p. 15); but his history is involved in considerable obscurity. (See Jost, as above. There is a slight notice of the earlier state of tradition, under Simon the Just, &c., in Prideaux, at the beginning of Part II.)

2. The assertion in the Lecture may mislead some who are not familiar with these books. When I say that the Mishna, according to the Jewish view of the matter, is the *unwritten word of God delivered to Moses*, they must understand that the Mishna itself was not *written* in a complete form till about A. D. 200, (the Jews say from A. D. 190—220,) and, indeed some place it, with Morinus, as late as the end of the  
fifth

fifth century. It contains the decisions of the doctors after Moses, as well as those which they received from him; but the *Midrashim* attribute even their decisions to inspiration, and say that God conversed with Moses about the *Bible*, the *Mishna*, the *Gemara*, &c. In Chiarini, Preface to the Translation du Talmud, p. 21, a passage will be found quoted from one of the *Midrashim* to this effect; and in p. 14 of the same preface he gives his reasons for adopting the earlier date rather than that of Morinus. The Mishnic doctors are supposed to have committed some of the Oral Law to writing for their own use, and some of these collections were probably used by the last collectors of the *Mishna*; but even their own decisions were supposed to be anticipated by the conversation between the Almighty and Moses. For a full account of this whole matter, I can refer to no book so complete as Chiarini's 'Prolégomenes' to his translation already referred to.

---



## LECTURE VII.

---

### HEBREWS VII. 19.

*For the Law made nothing perfect, but the bringing in of a better hope did.*

THE considerations which have hitherto been introduced into these Lectures on the subject of the Law of Moses, relate almost entirely to its secondary uses. I have abstained from any thing but a bare mention of some of the most remarkable of its primary purposes. The doctrine of its types has been left almost untouched; nor have I alluded, except most sparingly, to the religious thoughts which the Scriptures of the Old Testament, written under its influence, are calculated to excite, even amid the clearer light of the Christian scheme. The effects to which I have chiefly directed your attention are therefore assuredly external uses. In the first place we considered the banishment of idolatry from one nation of the world; and when that nation mixed with many others far and near, the establishment of various spots in which the knowledge of the one true God might be laid up,

as in a storehouse, to be used in due season, resulted from that intermixture. The next effect which met our view was the remarkable phenomena exhibited by a people so constantly oppressed and yet surviving as a nation, till that Shiloh was come, of whom it was predicted that the kingdom should not depart from Judah until he came. I attempted to shew that these effects resulted from the original institutions delivered, during the passage of the wilderness, by Moses; and that these institutions, therefore, deeply influenced the events of the history as well as the character of the Jewish people. And, lastly, it was attempted to be shewn, that from the same cause resulted a wide diffusion of religious knowledge among the people, but that before the days of our Saviour they had begun to corrupt the fountains of that knowledge, and no longer drank the waters of life from their only pure fount and source!

It is my intention, on the present occasion, to use these conclusions for the purpose of shewing, by certain comparisons, and by the introduction of some further considerations, the temporary nature of the former dispensation, and the abiding foundations of Christianity;—I ought, perhaps, to say, to raise a collateral argument, rather than to shew these truths by any entirely independent course of reasoning. The evidence

of Christianity rests on other and distinct grounds; but every step which we make towards perceiving that consistency and wisdom in the design of God, and in the means which it has pleased him to employ for the instruction of the world, strengthens and confirms the whole body of argument of which the proofs of Christianity are composed.

It is something if we ascertain, that by the arrangements which the Almighty had made, far more was effected than at first sight we should be inclined to judge;—it is something if, tracing the operations of the Laws which he had given, we find them, on a close examination, conducing, by multifarious channels, to prepare the way for that dispensation which we believe to be final. It is something if we find that, while much was effected, the *tendency* of the former dispensation was to effect much more, had man conformed to its precepts more fully. We make also some advance in our cause if we find that, in the dispensation which Christianity superseded as a guide of life, there are marks which stamp it as belonging, in part, to things which are only for a season, and that these marks are wanting in that which superseded it. It is something also if we find that human corruptions alone have rendered that a curse which, *in its due season, and when God gave it,*

was a blessing; and that thus the perversity of man's heart was made its own punishment. When we perceive, therefore, (as I endeavoured to shew on Sunday last), that deference to human authority in our Saviour's day was blinding the hearts of his countrymen; and when, in the blindness of their hearts, and the grossness of their views, they would not receive him whom God had sent as their Messiah, we see that this very corruption of the word of God was forging chains for the minds of the sons of Israel, which centuries have been unable to break,—we can scarcely fail to recognize, in all these appointments, an adaptation of parts, which if it does not prove, at least tallies most miraculously, with the fact, that both these systems proceeded from the selfsame source, and were only two different parts of one deeply-calculated scheme. I do not say that these circumstances prove, but they harmonize most essentially with, the assertion of the great apostle of the Gentiles,—that the Law came in only for a season to prepare the way, until the promise, which was 400 years before it, should be realized.

‘In thy seed shall *all the nations* of the Earth be blessed,’ was the promise.

Now, one of the great secondary uses of the Law, as we have shewn, was to retain the descendants of Israel within the bounds of Judæa.

as a people; and this very circumstance contains almost a proof that *the Law* could only be a temporary dispensation, limited to one people—and we recur therefore to *the Promise*, which was to all the nations of the world.

It may perhaps be worth our while to look for a moment at the interpretation which the Jews themselves, aware of the view taken by Christians of the passage in question, fix upon it. They couple it with what precedes, and because it was a promise to Abraham at the same time *that his seed should* be as the stars in number, or as the sand of the sea-shore for multitude<sup>1</sup>, they determine that the words ‘in thy seed shall all the nations of the world be blessed,’ must be taken collectively also; and that in the blessings conferred on the family of Abraham, we are to seek the blessings promised to the whole world. It is indeed added, that it should be a blessing to the nations by teaching them a knowledge of the great truths of religion; but

<sup>1</sup> See the *Munimen Fidei*, by Rabbi Isaac, ch. xiii. (*Wagenseil*, *Tela Ignea Satanæ*, p. 133.

For the arguments of the Jews, the *Pugio Fidei* of Raymond Martin, written against them in Spain at a very early period, may also be consulted, as giving an ample collection of them; or the work of Galatinus, which, if it has not the merit of originality, (as being pillaged from the former,) has that of presenting the information it contains in a more convenient and readable form.

when we remember that this comes from men who uphold the system of the traditional law, who confound Christians with idolaters, and would deem the extermination of the two quite justifiable<sup>2</sup>;—when we remember that it comes from adversaries who uphold the eternal obligations of the Law, both written and oral, and who conceive all the world lost in utter and hopeless condemnation except those of their own religion;—and when we crown the whole with remarking, that if a knowledge of the Almighty were communicated to all creatures, and his Law made known to them, that the very limitations which fixed its performance to the land of Judæa alone would render it physically impossible for all nations of the world to comply with its requirements,—it needs no deep discernment to perceive that this explanation involves in itself a contradiction. For, how could it be a blessing

<sup>2</sup> It would be easy to cover these pages with passages from the writings of the Jews to shew that they call the Christians idolaters, &c., but any one may satisfy himself of the fact by consulting Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, especially Part i. ch. ii. pp. 78, 79; ch. ix. §. 5, p. 496, et alibi.

With regard to their speculative tenet of the propriety of exterminating the Christians, I may refer to the same authority, Part i. ch. xv. especially pp. 601, 602.

In the Abbé Chiarini's *Théorie du Judaïsme*, the same information may likewise be obtained. See, for instance, Vol. II. p. 133.

to the nations of the world that they should see from afar off a sun whose light should shine upon them only to confound them, and from the genial warmth of whose beams it was impossible that they could ever be warmed?—How could they be blessed in beholding the happiness of a people from whose worship and whose community they were for ever excluded, and whose joys they were destined never to share? I should contend, therefore, that the Jewish interpretation of this promise, in the mouth of one who maintains the eternal obligation of the Law, contains a palpable contradiction.

Let us, then, briefly state a few of the most striking marks which indicate the temporary nature of the Mosaic system, but are not to be found in the Christian. It is a statement, I am well aware, which can present no novelty, but it is needful for the completion of our argument.

I. The existence of types. If it be allowed that the appointments of the Levitical worship were prophetic types, this supposition at once implies, without any argument, that when the antitype should have come the type itself should cease.

Christianity contains no types, unless, indeed, the worship and the union of the heart among believers be considered as a type of the condition of the Church above—the great and

joyful company that shall assemble hereafter in the kingdom prepared for the saints of God. If these be types, their antitype belongs not to our present state of being—they are types of that which belongs to things unseen. Their antitype belongs to that bright world which shall rise into life and beauty when heaven and earth, and all the present frame of worlds, shall have crumbled into annihilation—when all that is fair and lovely now may live only in the tablets of man's memory, and be there compared with a new creation, before which all the powers of imagination stand baffled, and which the highest flights of ideal speculation cannot reach.

II. The system of the former Law was confined to one nation, and to one sanctuary. Jerusalem that is below is one and one only. Prayers indeed might be offered in every assembly of the people, but the sacrifice could be lifted up before the Lord only on the mount of Sion; and when the House of God was desolate, and his Spirit had departed from that tabernacle, there could be no availing sacrifice for the pardon of man's sin<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> "Now in our days, when the house of sanctuary exists no longer, and *when we have no atoning altar*, there is nothing [left for us] but repentance. Repentance, however, atones for all transgressions." Maimon. *Yad Hachazakah*, Bernard's translation, p. 214. In connexion with this subject, I may just allude to the lamentations over the desolation of the



The Christian sacrifice once offered on the Mount of Calvary, the SPIRIT no longer limits the place of acceptance to any single temple. The holy man finds in every land the Christian Sion. Boundless as the universe is the love which said, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them;" and boundless as the universe is the presence of our Saviour and our God. He is present by his power and his spirit, and through his "one oblation of himself once offered," the sacrifice of a broken spirit and a contrite heart is available to man, wheresoever it be offered. Yea, wheresoever his true followers shall assemble for prayer, there is Christ himself present in power and in spirit—in power, to raise the repentant sinner from the death of sin, and in spirit, to fill his heart with grace, and lead him to the life of righteousness!

III. The former Law of God was composed of regulations that were both civil and religious. It was destined, while it conveyed its religious instructions to the heart of man, to bind the na-

the Temple, and the dispersion of Israel, which the Talmud occasionally attributes to the Deity. Those who are not able to consult the original, will find an instance in the Abbé Chiarini's last work (*Le Talmud de Babylone traduit, &c.*) Vol. i. p. 254, with a very curious note on the various readings which have been introduced into passages of this kind.

tion, to whom it was given together as one people, and to shape the whole course of their existence as a nation; and it was compatible with no other form of civil and religious government than that *established, or to be established*, in Palestine.

Christianity is independent on the nature of the civil and political constitution of every land, to which the glorious message of its glad tidings may have come. Its churches have been raised in all lands and under every form of government. The form and the discipline of the Church itself have been, and must remain unchanged, if we would abide by the word of God, and the appointments of the Apostles. But the forms of civil polity with which the church has co-existed, and may hereafter co-exist, are as various as the climes which it has blessed with its ennobling and sanctifying influence.

In Corinth and in Rome—in the provinces of Asia and on the shores of Africa—in the barbarous province of Gaul, the hand of God raised his Christian Church in the very earliest days; and the breath of his power has wafted its name and its blessings, by degrees, to the frozen regions of the North and to the burning lands of India. He has planted the banners of the Cross even in the farthest wilds of America. Churches, apostolical in discipline and pure in doctrine, have now blessed all these distant regions, and have been faithful

depositories of divine truth, and faithful dispensers of the holy consolations of Christianity, undamaged by the difference of the civil polities, and undestroyed by the varieties of habits and manners, with which they have been brought into union.

Pure doctrine and apostolical authority and discipline are the only essentials for the formation of a Christian Church. These cannot be dispensed with nor vary—all besides is contingent, and may vary with the climate or the institutions of the people among whom the Church exists. It is scarcely needful to observe, that if the habits or the institutions of the people are at all at variance with Christian morals, then the two must stand in direct opposition; and till Christianity has subdued and put to shame the opposing power, the brightness of the Church is dimmed, its glory tarnished, and its blessings curtailed.

IV. The last point of contrast which lies within the scope of my purpose to mention, is the difference of motives to action which the Law brings prominently forward, and those which Christianity impresses on the heart. Few persons who are acquainted with the Scriptures will be inclined to deny, that even in the earliest days, when God revealed himself to man, the knowledge of a life to come was vouchsafed for his improvement and for his comfort; but it must also be allowed, that the hope of this reward is not the primary

and prominent motive given to man under the former dispensation.

The *prominent motives* which are put forward are temporal rewards and judgments—I speak here of the Law itself, not of the Law as explained and amplified by the Prophets; but, on the whole, temporal rewards and judgments are the *immediate motives* usually urged upon the people of Israel. True it is that these rewards and these judgments are spoken of as tokens of the approbation or the displeasure of Jehovah! True it is, that while the belief in a future life, which had been given in revelation to the Patriarchs, still dwelt among the people, the transition from God's temporal judgments to his eternal sentence, from his displeasure or his acceptance in this world to a more terrible and enduring judgment in the world to come, or to a better land and pleasures that should never fade, is but one single step for the mind to make. And yet we must acknowledge, that it is so commonly the tendency of man to rest in what is obvious and presented to his senses, that it would be only among those who would give their hearts to the study and the practice of God's Law, under the influence of prayer and the guidance of his Spirit, that the height and breadth and depth of his care would be known; and multitudes would content themselves with the contemplation of tem-

poral prosperity as their best reward, and temporal calamity as their worst affliction.

Now of this there is no trace in the Gospel; the *last* appeal is made to man of which his nature will allow. He is to be holy, because there is no longer interposed between him and heaven any veil that dims his view. No secondary motives are to lead him to God, but, to use the language of St Peter, as it has been interpreted with great ability, 'the end of all things is at hand' to him. He is shewn that last great judgment in all its clearness, when the spirit of man shall stand before his God, and receive his sentence for eternal happiness or for eternal woe, according to the things which are done in the body. It is thus that the end of all things stands close upon him, ever beside him, to warn him, that as his affections turn to God or to the world, so his doom will be in the world to come—with the spirits of just men made perfect before the throne of the Almighty, or with the outcasts from his presence. Every principle, every precept of the Christian Law, turns on this one tremendous consideration! Every precept and principle is calculated to teach man to trample on the world and the flesh, and to despise things present, in comparison of the glory that shall be revealed.

This concludes, therefore, the summary of those points of contrast which, however common

they may be, I could not omit, because the argument which I had entered upon would be incomplete without them. Our only object in the remainder will now be with the practical bearings of these views on our own faith and practice.

I conceive that there are few considerations more calculated than these to teach us caution in our judgment of the future dealings of the Almighty with the children of men. When we learn, with awe and with reverence, that He in whose hand are the times and the seasons saw fit to change the Law which came forth amidst the thunders of Sinai, we feel at once how dark and dim and imperfect must be every view which man takes of his dealings! we feel how presumptuous it would be, if we judged only by human conjectures, to declare that no change should again occur in the measures by which it may please the Almighty to bring his people to himself, and to guide them hereafter. But it must be remembered, that when we compare the two, there is no analogy on some of the most important points relative to this enquiry—that while types and sensuous marks indicated that the sensuous must be swallowed up in the spiritual, and while prophets proclaimed that so the Almighty willed, and some of them determined the very season at which the change should be wrought, here all analogy fails us: *we* are brought face

to face 'with the end of all things;' and the tenor of Scripture promises an extension of the kingdom of Christ, as gradual as the leaven that mingles with the meal till all be leavened—as slow as the growth of some mighty tree to overshadow the earth! Our caution therefore assumes a different, a contrary direction: it deadens the ear to deceitful promises of a sudden change in the moral constitution of the world—it teaches us to bring to the rule of Scripture, and of Scripture alone, all such expectations. It leads us to examine whether there be any indications in the Gospel like those in the Law, that any great change may be expected; and certainly, when we find it not only free from these, but its whole tenor decidedly against such a view, we are strongly persuaded that such expectations must be delusive. I allude not here, or at least not chiefly, to those who claim for the Church of Christ the present existence of miraculous powers, or the gifts of prophecy. With *them*, our only question is the *evidence* on which they ground their claim; and when we behold them, as we have done, acknowledging that the Spirit of God may prophesy definitely things which do not come to pass, when we have known predictions uttered by them as to passing events, and pronounced by the united authority of these claimants to be spoken by the Spirit of God,

fall to the ground, and become belied by the event,—we cannot but perceive that the evidence when weighed in the balance is found wanting<sup>1</sup>. When we look back to the last two centuries, and find that the same fate befell the predictions of the prophets of Hungary in the 17th century, and the prophets of France in the 18th—when we find those who claim these gifts at present deciding with authority that the French prophets spoke so much truth by the spirit of God, intermingled with so much falsehood arising from those who abused their gifts or pretended to them only, that it is now impossible to ascertain which is truth and which is falsehood<sup>2</sup>,—we turn away in

<sup>1</sup> The predictions of Mr Baxter, as related in his narrative, will amply suffice to substantiate this charge. In the Rev. W. Goode's 'Modern Claims to the Possession of the Extraordinary Gifts of the Spirit stated and examined,' London, 1833, there will be found a very full collection of historical evidence on this subject, well arranged, and accompanied by very sound argument. The prophecies of the Bohemian prophets may be found in a quarto volume entitled 'Lux e Tenebris' (published in 1665), containing the revelation vouchsafed to Christopher Kotter, a Silesian, to Christina Poniatovia, a Bohemian, and to Nicolaus Drabicius, a Moravian.

A very full account of the French prophets is to be found in the essay on 'The New Pretenders to Prophecy,' by Mr Spinckes, appended to the fourth edition of Dr Hickes's 'Spirit of Enthusiasm exorcised,' 1709.

<sup>2</sup> Mr Irving tells us, in his preface to his reprint of 'The general Delusion of Christians touching the Ways of God's revealing himself to and by the Prophets,' which was written



deep and unfeigned sorrow that men should have yielded themselves up to a fanciful spirit, and

in answer to Dr Hickee's 'Spirit of Enthusiasm exorcised,' that these French prophets were 'unhappy fanatics,' but that the arguments by which they were opposed and defended scarcely made any reference to Scripture, and that 'it is hard to say whether the reasons adduced for them, or against them, are the more unsatisfactory.' He then proceeds thus:

'The most probable solution of the history is, that God did vouchsafe to afford supernatural support of various kinds to several of His servants who were witnessing to His truth against the abominations of the Papacy in the mountains of the Cevennes, to which they had fled at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz; that some of the individuals so honoured did abuse their gifts, like the Corinthians of old; that others affected, by enthusiasm or excitement, to possess similar powers; that Satan enabled certain of his servants to imitate the servants of God, and to do wonders also; and thus the work *considered as a whole* presented such confusion and predominance of positive evil, that it is impossible now to separate the gold from the dross, or scarcely to recognise any of the precious metal. It appears that, when the refugees from that persecution came to England, some of these pretenders to the prophetic gift arrived also; and possibly one or two of those who at the commencement were really moved by the Holy Spirit, came with them. Their fruits soon proved the nature of the stock on which they grew: but while the French Prophets themselves are not to be defended for a moment, it must not be denied that most of the grounds on which they were attacked were untenable. The short and sufficient answer to them would have been, that their doctrine was contrary to the written word, and that their conduct was immoral: instead of which, they were assailed by arguments that would have been equally efficacious, if valid at all, against many facts recorded in Scripture.'

deserted the plain and practical precepts of the Gospel. If the authority be asked on which these assertions are made, two well-known instances, among a multitude of others, may be mentioned at once. The prophets of Hungary predicted the success, and the subsequent glorious career, of Gustavus Adolphus before the battle of Lutzen, in which he perished<sup>1</sup>. The prophets of France proclaimed, by the Spirit, as they said, of God, the immediate resuscitation of a dying man, who was the next day consigned to the tomb of his fathers, to rise no more till the day when all men shall rise to give account of the things done in the body<sup>2</sup>.

Such are the tests to which we must subject the claim of extraordinary gifts and of miracles; a comparison with the word of God, and an examination of the evidence on which they

<sup>1</sup> See the *Historia Revelationum Christianæ Poniatoviæ*, (the last treatise in the *Lux e Tenebris*), p. 125. For another false prophecy see the *Revelat. Drabicii*, No. 155, (p. 147), in which the *adjunctus* of Drabicius (Comenius) was to anoint the Prince of Transylvania King of Hungary, but he died within a few days from the date of the prophecy. Compare Rev. 154.

<sup>2</sup> See the account of the prophecy about the resuscitation of Dr Emes, in Spinckes's *Treatise*, at the end of Hickes's '*Spirit of Enthusiasm exorcised*,' p. 425.

In the same book, p. 385, is a collection of specimens of the wretched blunders made by these 'unhappy fanatics' in languages which they professed to speak by inspiration.

rest. But on the general question we *have no need to enter*, whether these gifts lie dormant only, and are again to be confided to the Church; for these gifts even would imply only a temporary change of subsidiary means, not an eversion of one system and the establishment of a new. I pass on, therefore, with this notice of such expectation, to others against whose views the arguments I have employed are more immediately available.

It is a circumstance, which I imagine has been often shewn by other writers, that God gradually increased the light he vouchsafed to his people; that as they became fitted, by the renunciation of vices, such as idolatry and others, the motives God gave them through his prophets or his priests constantly acquired a higher tone, because less sensual and more spiritual, till at length, when the season was arrived for unfolding all the knowledge it belongs to an immortal soul to acquire, a twilight glimmering and dawn preceded the advent of the Sun of Righteousness, by whose law all carnal thoughts must be subdued, all earthly hopes rendered unworthy in comparison of that secret spring of action—the hope of immortal life through the cross of Christ! And yet we are doomed, among some who would be called Christians, to listen to suggestions which would invite us to means unworthy of our high calling, and subversive of this plain tendency of

the Gospel. We are asked to believe, that hereafter the Christian world will be improved in its spiritual character by improvements in the comforts and conveniences of our animal frame. All inventions of the past and present days, all that are promised by the present day, are enlisted into the service of this anomalous assemblage of motives.

Rapid communication between distant places<sup>1</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> "All the mechanical contrivances to which I have adverted, all the discoveries of science, and all the useful inventions of genius which may hereafter be exhibited, ought to be viewed as preparing the way for the Millennial era of the Church, and as having a certain tendency to the melioration of the external condition of mankind during its continuance. We are certain, from the very nature of things, as well as from scriptural predictions, that when the period advances towards the summit of its glory, the external circumstances of this world's population will be comfortable, prosperous, and greatly meliorated, beyond what they have ever been in the days that are past..... Diseases will be in a great measure banished from the world, and the life of man extended from beyond its present duration—agriculture will be brought to perfection—commodious habitations erected for the comfortable accommodation of all ranks—cities built on elegant and spacious plans, adapted to health, ornament, and pleasure; divested of all the filth, and darkness, and gloom, and narrow lanes, which now disgrace the abodes of men—roads will be constructed on improved principles, with comfortable means of retreat for shelter and accommodation at all seasons; and conveyances invented for the ease, and safety, and rapid conveyance of persons and property from one place to another..... The landscape of the earth will be adorned with vegetable and architectural

the charms of lovely gardens, and the sweet strains of melting music—all that the eye and the ear can enjoy—are to cheat the soul in an earthly paradise into acquiescence with the will of God and love to his way; and this is the path over which Christians are to travel to the mansions of their Heavenly Father. These are not views held by only one or two enthusiasts, but they are views which have been widely circulated and often

architectural beauty; and instead of horse-racing, demoralizing plays, routs and masquerades, boxing and bull-baits—artificial displays of scenery will be exhibited, more congenial to the dignity of rational, renovated, and immortal minds. ‘For the knowledge of the Lord’ and ‘the beauties of holiness’ will pervade men of all ranks and ages, ‘from the least even unto the greatest.’” *Dick’s Christian Philosopher*, pp. 412—414.

[It is right to state, that the passage which is omitted in this extract contains a certain number of passages of Scripture, by which the author supposes that this sensuous view of the Millennial era is supported. They are *Psal. Lxvii. 6*; *Isaiah xxx. 23, 24*; *xxxiii. 24*; *Lxv. 21—23*; *Zech. viii. 12*; *Mic. iv. 4*, &c.]

The above extract will sufficiently explain the nature of the views against which I was anxious to protest. It would be fanatical to suppose that the comforts and conveniences of life, within due bounds, are not worthy of man’s attention, or to deny that nations destitute of them below a certain point are usually in a low moral and intellectual condition. But I deny that every advance in these points implies a progress in spiritual condition also; and when they increase greatly, if I trust experience and the Bible, I must believe that the greatest watchfulness is needed lest they should possess the heart exclusively, and utterly corrupt and destroy it.

too favourably received. It would surely be needless to discuss them here at large; the only questions we are tempted to ask in regard to this religious revolution are the following: Where is there any promise that the power of the flesh shall cease? Where is there any prospect of an access to the Father of Light except through the conquest obtained by the immortal soul over this poor and trembling frame,—this form of clay, which shall not enter into Heaven except it be changed, which must be turned into corruption a natural body, and rise again a spiritual body? Lastly, is there any reason, from the progress of society, to believe that, as the world becomes older, the power of the flesh, which misleads the soul it imprisons, shall wane away, and man be no more subject to pride, to envy, to ambition, to wrath, and to lust? and where, until this change be wrought, shall the hope of man rest, or his spirit fly for succour, but to the footstool of the throne of Him, who having overcome the world, encourages his disciples to believe that through his Spirit they may overcome it also?

---

## LECTURE VIII<sup>1</sup>.

---

### PSALM CXIX. 71.

*It is good for me that I have been afflicted.*

AMONG the many benefits which Revelation has conferred on man, it is not the least that it has encouraged him to look upon affliction and calamity with far different feelings than those which he can derive from any other source—with feelings of humble resignation and even cheerfulness for the present, and of hope for the future. In the Christian scheme neither fate nor chance find place—the very hairs of the head of man are numbered, and nothing can happen which it is not the will of a tender Father of the human race to permit. This is one source of consolation unknown to all but those who

<sup>1</sup> This Lecture has no connexion with those which precede it. It is the Sermon preached on Sunday the 14th of April, 1833, being the day on which a general Thanksgiving was ordered to be made in all the Churches for the goodness and mercy of Almighty God in removing the grievous disease with which several places in the kingdom had been visited. The duty of preaching this Sermon on this occasion, in the Church of Great St Mary's, having devolved on the Hulsean Lecturer, it is thought that the manner in which the subject was treated fairly brings it within the legitimate range allowed by Mr Hulse to these Lectures.

drink of living water from the wells of life; and its value is proportioned to the greatness of the Being from whom it proceeds. It is true, indeed, that the gospel teaches man to expect physical evil and corporal suffering—for such is the condition of a fallen nature, while worldly principles remove as far as possible out of sight a truth so distressing to our nature. The man of this world endeavours to chase away every thought of pain, and to enjoy the present without anticipation of the future, while he would fain delude himself into the belief, that because the velvet foot with which sorrow is advancing on him is unheard, its iron hand will never seize his frame. It is true that for a season his passions may cheat his understanding, and lull to rest all his anxiety, but it is as clear also, that, by the very condition of his being, the storehouse of his consolation decreases as he advances in life, that his habits of mind leave him at the mercy of the first breath which deprives him of his accustomed enjoyments, and that when the arrows of misfortune are aimed against him, his breast is open and defenceless to their point. The gospel, on the contrary, offers no tumultuous joy, no thoughtless pleasures for the moment; and it gives *no* promise that God will so shape the course of this world, that outward evil and calamity shall not sometimes fall upon the most holy of its



followers, in the same, or in a greater proportion, than on the unholy and the sinner. But it does promise to give man an inward principle, if he will hearken to its voice, and accept its offers and conditions, which will entirely change all his views with regard to this world, by placing all that happens to him here, all the things that are seen, in subordination to another system—the world that is unseen.

The occasion to which the service of this day directs our thoughts, as a ground of thanksgiving to the Almighty Giver of all good things, is the suspension of the chastening hand of God from our country, in the removal of the grievous disease by which our land has been visited within the last few months. Before we turn our attention to some points in the Christian view of national judgments, it may not be entirely out of place to cast one glance, and that but very briefly, on the view of suffering and of death which some among the noblest spirits of the heathen world entertained, and to observe how little consolation their philosophy was calculated to afford them. One of the great families of philosophy<sup>1</sup> undertook to grapple with these enemies of man and to subdue them. Its object was to render man callous, and accordingly it ridiculed the folly of struggling against that which is unavoidable,

<sup>1</sup> The Stoics.

and of deploring that which is incurable. Man was to sustain himself under all circumstances by the feeling of conscious rectitude, and the dignity of his nature was not to be compromised by unmanly softness nor slavish fear. This was to be the sustaining principle, but this was not all: man was to believe, was to attempt to persuade himself, that pain is no real evil! and therefore all its efforts to unman the frame were to be despised by the wise and virtuous man!

Far be it from the Christian to exult or to triumph over this display of human weakness, where it thought itself strong! but surely in these abstract notions there was no support against a single hour of torturing pain, or the prostrating power of a lingering sickness. They may be among the sayings of the wise,

‘But with the afflicted in his pangs  
Their sound little prevails, or rather seems a note  
Harsh, and of dissonant tone from his complaint.’

Whatever comfort they could bring, and that was indeed but little, could be brought only to the highest and noblest spirits that embraced these doctrines! and even they must have felt the nothingness of a system, to which their own feelings gave the lie as soon as its consolation was needed—the worthlessness of an armour that falls off in the day

<sup>2</sup> Milton, *Samson Agonistes*.

of battle! But the great contest with these philosophers was that against death. It meets us in all their writings; and by the labour they bestow upon it, they shew that they conceived it a contest with which it required all their powers to grapple. And what are the thoughts which with them were to smooth the last hours that bring man down to the grave, when his body crumbles into dust, and he goes hence and is seen no more? The only consolation they could find was this, that death is no evil! It is no evil to man, they say, that he was not in existence a century ago, and therefore it can be no evil to him to lose his existence now, and again pass into the state of unconsciousness from which he came! When we consider the frequency of this argument in the later writers of this school of philosophy, we cannot but feel that they addressed themselves to these points so sedulously because they felt the force of nature struggling within them, and refusing comfort from empty words and unreal speculations. They were uneasy, restless, and unsatisfied with theories, to which their own feelings, and the essential nature of man, were in direct contradiction—a contradiction which they did not themselves hesitate sometimes to avow<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> I may, perhaps, be permitted to refer my readers to Neander's History of the Church, pp. 19, 20, and 101, 102,  
for

Such were the thoughts of high and noble spirits, unvisited by the light of Revelation—and it is in no spirit of detraction that they are brought forward here. It is simply to contrast these unsatisfactory views of all that belongs to man's destinies and his daily wants, with the practical bearing of the Christian's creed! The Gospel never attempts to persuade man that pain is no evil, but it teaches him to look beyond the present hour, and gives him that which the wounded spirit craves beyond all other balm—the balm of hope. With death, indeed, it deals after another manner. Whatever of evil death has in a Christian's view, that evil arises from sin alone—"The sting of death is sin;" and the Gospel disarms death of its power to wound man, by breaking the power of sin, and by bringing the spirit to look on death, for the sincere believer and faithful Christian, only as a passage from a life of trial and of difficulty and darkness, to a state where the pure in heart shall see God, and be satisfied with his goodness! It therefore requires him to prepare himself for death, by daily renouncing all the sinfulness that still clings to

for quotations from the works of Pliny and Marcus Aurelius, which will bear out the assertions I have made. The 77th Epistle of Seneca may also be added to the passages there quoted, for the germ of most of this stoicism is to be found there.

his nature, and daily asking of the Holy Spirit more of the power to change his heart into the likeness of the model which his Saviour left for man, and thus to take away the sting from death! because it professes no power to chase away the shadows of darkness from the dying bed of the sinner, and because only in proportion to the faith and the holiness of the Christian are its promises of power or its hopes available. But in regard to the dispensations of Providence during life—to pain and sickness, or the thousand trials that await man in his passage through this world—the Gospel professes not to cheat man into the belief that they are no evil, or that it is pleasant to suffer—but it takes the only practical view of all. It connects whatsoever happens to us as individuals with the will of God, and constantly impressing upon us the truth, that the good of the immortal soul is the real end and aim of our existence, it puts all besides in subordination to that one view! It is true that no inward feelings can destroy pain in the human body, but it is no less true that they may give him strength and fortitude to disregard it; and of all feelings *that of hope* is the most sustaining which the human heart can receive as an inmate. In all that befalls the Christian he is taught to look upon the bearing it may have upon the interests, not of the poor and perishable body, but of the im-

mortal spirit; and when he knows that through suffering and patience *many* of the children of men *are* purified for their abode in heaven, and that *all* may be, he learns to turn the afflictions of time to the uses of eternity; and as to him it were nothing to gain the whole world and lose his own soul, so the loss of this world, its pain or its sorrow, is to him a light thing compared with that which is to come. It is thus that in the affliction of the body the Christian often sees the chastening of a tender father, and loves the very hand that smites him !

I bring these thoughts before you, common though they are, and familiar as they must be to the lowliest around me, because it is one of the greatest glories of Christianity to have made them common and familiar! The consolations which Christianity offers are not for the philosopher alone, but for the peasant also; the Gospel is preached to the poor, and its hopes and consolations often leave the study to take refuge in the cottage. Wheresoever the Bible can reach, these thoughts may find entrance with it to cheer the sufferer, and to encourage the dying! and, thanks be to God! there is scarcely a home in our land, how humble soever it may be, where hopes and consolations, which the wisest of the heathens would have died to attain, may not shed their grace and comfort

around, unless sin and vice should drive them from its doors!

But let us now pass on to some of the views which the Christian will entertain in regard to National Judgments! In them, assuredly, he sees the punishment of sin, although the measure by which the punishment is adjusted to the offences of a nation, it is beyond his ken to know! He knows that sin first brought suffering into the world; that when man is thoughtless and has forgotten God, distress and anguish bring upon him a sense of want and weakness and dependence; and that want and weakness and dependence are feelings that, of all others, prompt him to take refuge under the wings of the Almighty! He knows not, indeed, the law by which guilt is punished in this world; nor, if he did, has he any scale to measure either national or individual guilt. He sees but the open deed—the guilty thought or the secret sin are to him as if they were not; and when the sinner begins, in heart, to turn away from his sin, all the thoughts by which the imperfect work of his repentance is silently achieving are hid from the eye of his fellow-men, and seen only by Him ‘to whom all hearts are open, and from whom no secrets are hid.’ The Christian, therefore, knowing that every chastisement is the chastisement of sin, sees in them,

as in his own individual suffering, the germ of future good! If his heart be at peace with God, he can look without dread, though not without sorrow, on the day of wrath! But when the judgments of God are abroad, and the Christian looks within, and sees how imperfect are all his best and purest thoughts, he turns himself to repentance for the past—to amendment for the days to come! And here again does the practical spirit of Christianity shew itself, in contradistinction to the disputing spirit of worldly philosophy. The philosopher would argue about the government of Providence—about the decrees of fate—the general laws of the government of the world: he would teach man never to hope that the eternal decrees of Heaven can be changed by his repentance or his prayers<sup>1</sup>! Now all this Christianity lays aside by one simple command. Nay, but except ye repent ye shall all likewise perish! is the language of Him who knew what was in man, and who has commanded man to pray! The laws by which God exerts his government over the world, the laws by which his judgments fall on one nation and pass over another, the *manner* in which prayer may be effectual to avert a blow ready to fall, are points on which the Christian is not informed, nor is it

<sup>1</sup> Desine Fata Deum flecti sperare precando.

VIRG. ÆN. VI. 376.



easy to say whether, if it were laid open before him, his present faculties would enable him to comprehend these questions: they may, nay, probably they do, lie far beyond his reach, in somewhat the same manner as his notions and actions lie beyond the grasp of the inferior creation<sup>1</sup>. But one thing he can see—it is with them as with individual suffering, he can see the spiritual use to which he may turn all the judgments of God! There is no darkness here, and this is the point to which Christianity would bring him. Moreover, revelation lays down a *general rule* by which his notions on this point may be guided. And many are the examples by which Scripture has opened to us this general rule, as far as it is convenient for us to know—as far as tends to the warning of man, and the practice of holiness and prayer. If man doubts the efficacy of holiness to avert the judgments of God, he sees the hand of the avenging angel suspended, and the red bolts of wrath delayed, till it be seen whether there are ten righteous in the city to save it! If he doubts the efficacy of prayer, because he believes the judgments of God immutable, he finds a promise, that when man repents God will remove the evil; and he sees the plague which

<sup>1</sup> It will be seen at once, by those who are familiar with the *Soirées de Saint-Petersbourg*, that this remark is taken from that work.

had been denounced against Nineveh withdrawn when the monarch and the people humbled themselves in prayer before the Lord! But farther than this, the people of God, it so happens, were connected in their history with almost all the nations which figured in the days of old—with Egypt, with Tyre, with Assyria, and with Babylon; and the judgments to come on these nations were written in the oracles of God so plainly, that the predictions are almost a description of their present state! One by one they passed away from the world, and their name was no more heard among the nations. Egypt is even now a base kingdom, Tyre is a spreading-place for fishermen's nets, and Babylon now hears no voice but the scream of the bittern from her pools! When thou O God! dost chasten man for sin, his beauty consumes away like a moth fretting a garment—and so was it with these the greatest of the kingdoms of old! Their own vices were made the instrument of their punishment, their luxury and effeminacy brought them to ruin; but lest man should fail to recognize in these instances of ruin an example of God's dealings with nations, their judgment was written *before-hand*, that we might know that though the eye of man sees not the hand of God, yet that this is the Lord's doing! It is therefore laid down in Scripture, both in words and in examples, that

God turneth a fruitful land into barrenness for the wickedness of them that dwell therein; but Scripture lays down no rule to tell *when* or *how* this judgment may be brought on any given land,—whether the same measure of sin be needed in all cases to bring down the wrath of God, and whether the most guilty be always selected for judgment or not. It simply lays down the general rule, that the counsels of God are so ordered that the natural tendency of wickedness is to bring down the chastisement of his displeasure; and this is all which is needed to supply a motive to abstain from sin!

When one of the cities of Europe suffered from an earthquake, and men were warned to fear that Being whose power is infinite, and whose judgments descend on man for sin, it was easy for the leading spirit of the scoffers and the infidels of that day to ask, why Lisbon suffered while London and Paris were spared<sup>1</sup>? It was an easy question for Voltaire to ask, but unless

<sup>1</sup> See the Poem of Voltaire entitled *Poème sur le Désastre de Lisbonne*; ou, *Examen de cet axiome 'Tout est bien.'* *Poèmes, Epîtres, et autres Poesies*, par M. de Voltaire. (Londres, 1779), pp. 18—30.

Quel crime, quelle faute ont commis ces enfans,  
Sur le sein maternel écrasés et sanglans ?  
Lisbonne, qui n'est plus, eut-elle plus de vices  
Que Londres, que Paris, plongés dans les delices ?  
Lisbonne est abimée et l'on danse à Paris.

See also the *Soirées de Saint-Pétersbourg*.

he knew the knowledge of the Most High, unless he knew or had reason to know that the Almighty deals with all nations by *the same* punishments in kind as well as in degree, it was a question to which no Christian need be disturbed if he is unable to give an answer.

It may lie beyond the powers of man to understand the cause, or to answer the enquiry, but it requires no depth of knowledge to perceive from how incompetent a view of the nature of God's dealings it proceeded! One glance into futurity might have altered all these views of the impunity of France!

What! are there no arrows in the hand of the Almighty but plague, pestilence, and famine? are there no evils but those which torture the body and destroy the habitation of man? Was he not himself, when he wrote these lines, preparing for the country in whose escape he exulted, and arraigned the justice of God, a curse, compared with the bitterness of which the sword and the pestilence are messengers of mildness and of mercy? was he not scattering abroad works in which he pandered to all the basest propensities of man? in which the only lesson he would teach the world is that 'human nature has no qualities but such as deserve ridicule?'<sup>2</sup> in which, when

<sup>2</sup> This expression is not my own, but I am not quite certain whence it comes.

he had put away religion by a sneer, he would engage his readers, by all his powers of ridicule and sarcasm, to reduce all men to one common level of baseness—to shew that they are all low, selfish, and sordid? His writings would tarnish all that is pure, and degrade all that is elevated in man; and assuredly no nation that could relish works like these needs any judgment from the hands of God!

They carry with them into all its homes a breath that taints the very air, and, robbing domestic intercourse both of its purity and its confidence, they teach man to look with contempt upon his brother, and with suspicion on all that should be unsuspected; they are a curse in every house on which they shed their influence, of bitterness and woe for the life that now is, and of hopelessness for that which is to come! Better, therefore, far better and wiser is it for man to take the judgments of God as warnings against sin; as warnings which teach him to look within, and where he sees corruption, there to turn in humble prayer for grace to change his heart and his thoughts, lest his sins should bring the land he loves into condemnation—lest they should assist in filling up the measure of a nation's iniquities, and the judgment of God fall upon her borders!

It is this day our duty to offer up to Almighty God the homage of grateful hearts for his mercy

in removing from our shores the disease which his wisdom saw fit to inflict. There is in the visitation of disease something which naturally leads men to ascribe its appearance to God. Wherever man can trace the operation of a physical cause, acting according to certain laws which he knows in part, he is but too apt to forget that even every general law is but the expression of an antecedent will in the Divine Being; and thus the appointed course of nature sometimes fails in directing his thoughts to its Creator and Ruler.

But in the visitations of disease he is unable to refer to any general laws. In them, 'the wind bloweth where it listeth, and we hear the sound thereof, but we know not whence it cometh, nor whither it goeth!' and therefore are we content to see in them the chastening hand of God! But while we look upon the dark black cloud which gathers around and warns us that impending storms are nigh, as an urgent motive to repentance, to prayer, and to holiness, let us not forget that it is the same Almighty Being alone, by whom the storm is ruled, who restores to man the clear blue dome of sky—that if judgment descends from the throne of heaven, every mercy, every gift of life descends from the same divine source of love; and therefore for all his mercy let us be thankful and rejoice. In this

place, of all others, are we bound to be grateful. To us it has been granted to be warned and admonished, not by our own sufferings, but by those around us. We have been spared—not assuredly for our own righteousness, but in the mercy with which the measure of God's justice has been tempered; and let us who are here assembled turn the judgments of God to the real purpose for which they are availing, the purpose that comes home to every Christian—the duty of purifying his heart, and of rekindling the spark of devotion within him, if its light has been dimmed! It is thus, indeed, if we love the bright land of our inheritance, we shall best serve her interest! The Christian is the truest patriot: he that would give all his earnest prayers, all his warmest efforts that holiness to the Lord might be inscribed, as it were, upon the nation, the land of his birth, is winning for that land, as far as human efforts can win it, the blessing of Him without whom nothing is strong, and at the breath of whose displeasure nations decay and powers depart! He that lives in forgetfulness of God is adding daily to the sins by which the Lord is constantly aggrieved, and is calling down, and tempting the hand of Providence to inflict, a severer penalty on all that dwell around him! If any therefore would claim to love their country, let them shew their love by purity, by

holiness, and by all the graces of a Christian life. Let them on this day join their voices in the song of gratitude and praise which ascends from the altars of our Church; and may our prayers be set forth as incense, and the lifting up of our hands like the evening sacrifice! May they bring down a fuller effusion of the Holy Spirit, and pour into the hearts of all a deeper reverence, a holier love to God, and a more perfect obedience to his will, that hereafter they who have sown in tears may reap in joy! and that with the Psalmist, we may say from the depths of the heart, 'It is good for us that we have been afflicted.'

---



## APPENDIX (A).

---

THE times at which the PENTATEUCH and the HISTORICAL BOOKS of the Old Testament are stated, by the chief Continental authorities of recent celebrity, to have been written or compiled.

### I. THE PENTATEUCH.

#### 1. GENESIS.

Gesenius<sup>1</sup>.

Geschichte der Hebr. Sprache and Schrift. Leipz., 1815. In its present form, not older than the time of David, p. 19. 23.

De Wette.

Lehrbuch der Historisch - Kritisch. Einleitung in die Bibel. 2 Vol. 1817. Between the time of David and Jehoram. Vol. i. §. 158. p. 228.

Gramberg.

Kritische Geschichte der Religionsideen des Alten Testaments. Berl. 1830. Between the time of David and Hezekiah. Pref. p. xxv.

<sup>1</sup> The subsequent references are to the same works and same editions, unless it is otherwise expressed. By Ibid, I refer back to the last citation of the Author under some other Book of the Bible. The same is true, if no reference is given.

**Bertholdt.**

Historisch Kritische Einleitung in die Schriften des Alten und Neuen Testaments. Erlangen, 1813.

It was compiled in its present form about the time of Saul, p. 835-6. The oldest parts of it are in ch. x—xxxiii. *which are older than Moses, probably by two centuries*, p. 826.

He thinks the Pentateuch was compiled partly by Samuel, and that *it must* have received its present form before the days of Solomon. pp. 820-1. 842.

**Jahn.**

Einleitung in die Göttliche Bücher des Alten Bundes. Vienna, 1803. 2nd Ed.

The work of Moses. Pt. II. §. 1.—§. 22.

**Eichorn.**

Einleitung in das Alte Test. Leipzig. 1803. 3rd Ed.

The work of Moses, §. 432.—§. 445.

Rosenmüller, E.T.C.

Scholia in Vet. Test. in Compendium redacta. Lips. 1828.

The work of Moses. Proleg. §. 5.

**2. EXODUS.**

Gesenius.

The same as Genesis. Ibid.

De Wette.

The same as Genesis. Ibid.

Gramberg.

The same as Genesis. Ibid.

Bertholdt.

Reduced to its present form about the time of Samuel. Ibid, p. 842.

Jahn.

The work of Moses.

Eichorn.

The work of Moses. Ibid.

Rosenmüller.

The work of Moses. Ibid.

**3. LEVITICUS.**

Gesenius.

The same as Genesis. Ibid.

- De Wette. Parts perhaps as old as the time of David, and parts as late as the Captivity or the Assyrian period. Ibid, §. 159. p. 229.
- Gramberg. The beginning of the Babylonish Captivity.
- Bertholdt. The same as Exodus. Ibid.
- Jahn. The work of Moses. Ibid.
- Eichorn. The work of Moses. Ibid.
- Rosenmüller. The work of Moses. Ibid.

## 4. NUMBERS.

- Gesenius. The same as Genesis.
- De Wette. Parts perhaps as old as David, but, &c. (just as in Leviticus) §. 159.
- Gramberg. Beginning of the Babylonish Captivity. Ibid.
- Bertholdt. The same as Exodus.
- Jahn
- Eichorn } The work of Moses. (As quoted before.)
- Rosenmüller. }

## 5. DEUTERONOMY.

- Gesenius. He assigns it at one place to the same time as the rest of the Books of the Pentateuch, but in p. 32, seems to revoke this opinion, and to assign it (or part of it) to the time of the Captivity.
- De Wette. Parts certainly later than the consecration of the Temple, and many parts (e. g. ch. xxx.) as late as the Captivity<sup>1</sup>. §. 160. p. 230.

<sup>1</sup> In another work, Beiträge zur Einleitung in das A. T. Band. I. p. 175, De Wette imagines that Deuteronomy was the book found or said to be found by Hilkiah. It must therefore have been in existence then. Not having an opportunity of consulting this work, I must state that I only quote this at secondhand from Gramberg. Kr. Gesch. der Religions-ideen, Vol. I. p. 305—307.

- |             |                                                                             |
|-------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Gramberg.   | * About the end of the Captivity. Ibid.                                     |
| Bertholdt.  | * The same as Exodus. Ibid. (See a flat contradiction to De Wette, p. 841.) |
| Jahn        | } The work of Moses.                                                        |
| Rosenmüller |                                                                             |
| Eichorn.    |                                                                             |

N. B. The volumes of Rosenmüller containing *the Historical Books* are, I believe, not yet published. I have never seen them in any copy of his work, nor in any catalogue. His former opinion of the Pentateuch was very different. I quote his latest work. See Hartmann, Pent. p. 52.

## II. HISTORICAL BOOKS.

### 1. JOSHUA.

- |            |                                                                  |
|------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Gesenius.  | Not older than the time of David.                                |
| De Wette.  | * From David to the Captivity. Ibid. §. 170. p. 240.             |
| Gramberg.  | * End of the Captivity. Ibid.                                    |
| Bertholdt. | * Before the time of David, p. 865.                              |
| Jahn.      | Early in Saul's reign or a little before. II. §. 27. p. 168.     |
| Eichorn.   | Probably before the time of Ahab. II. §. 450.                    |
| Augusti.   | A little before or a little after the Captivity. §. 119. p. 174. |

### 2. JUDGES.

- |           |                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|-----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Gesenius. | Not older than David.                                                                                                                                                             |
| De Wette. | * <i>Much older than Joshua</i> ; its age uncertain, perhaps in the Captivity, or at least in Hezekiah's time. §. 175. p. 247. Perhaps the late parts are the works of a reviser. |
| Gramberg. | Between David and Hezekiah.                                                                                                                                                       |

Bertholdt. \* From II. 6—xvi. 31. is from traditional sources *before* Samuel, p. 881. It was compiled *after* Joshua, p. 882. The rest of the Book much later, and in its present form is perhaps due to the time of Nehemiah, p. 887.

Jahn. Written by Samuel or by a prophet of his School. II. §. 34. p. 190.

Eichorn. 1—xvii. *Almost certainly* before David's time. §. 458. §. 460.—xvii. to the end, written during the Assyrian Captivity, under Tiglath-Pileser or Shalmaneser. §. 459.

Augusti. 1—xvi. Older than the last chapters, which were possibly added by the Collector of the Canon. The book was written with a Theocratic tendency. §. 123—130.

### 3. RUTH.

Gesenius. Not older than the time of David.

De Wette. Later than Samuel but earlier than the Captivity. §. 194. p. 269.

Gramberg. Just before the Captivity.

Bertholdt. Certainly not before the last days of Judah—possibly *after* the Captivity. §. 553, p. 2352.

Jahn. After the time of David. II. 41.

Eichorn. Uncertain; probably contemporaneously with Samuel and Kings. §. 464.

Augusti. Probably late, because of its Chaldaisms. §. 195.

### 4. 1. & 2 SAMUEL.

Gesenius. Previous to the Captivity<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> I cannot find any passage in which this opinion is directly stated. I only infer it from the fact that Gesenius (p. 21. §. 9. and p. 19. §. 8.) divides the Hebrew Books into two classes according to their language. (1. The Antebabylonian Books. 2. The Books in and after the Captivity) and that he declares

- De Wette. Before Leviticus and Deuteronomy, but parts of it after Solomon's reign. §. 180. p. 253.
- Gramberg. Before the Captivity.
- Bertholdt. End of the kingdom of Judah, but from older sources, p. 924.
- Jahn. Written by the author of the Books of Kings. II. §. 46.
- Eichorn.
- Augusti. Before the Pentateuch was collected. §. 133—784.
5. 1. & 2 KINGS.
- Gesenius.
- De Wette. From the destruction of Israel to the Captivity. §. 185. p. 285.
- Gramberg. End of the Captivity.
- Bertholdt. Shortly after the 37th year of the Captivity, and *after* the death of Jehoiachin. §. 264. p. 959.
- Jahn. Before the death of Jehoiachin. II. §. 47. p. 236.
- Eichorn. After the destruction of the kingdom of Judah. §. 478—484.
- Augusti. After the 39th year of the Captivity. §. 138.
6. 1. & 2 CHRONICLES.
- Gesenius\*. \* Several centuries later than Samuel and Kings; the writer had a difficulty occasionally in understanding the older writers, now the language was being lost, p. 37—43, especially p. 40.

declares the Pentateuch to correspond in language exactly with the older Historical Books. I conclude, therefore, that he places *all these books* in the first Class, except parts of Deuteronomy.

De Wette.	* Suspects that the writer did not understand Hebrew <sup>1</sup> . Long after the time of Darius Hystaspis, §. 189. p. 261.
Gramberg.	* Between the end of the Persian Dominion and the death of Antiochus Epiphanes.
Bertholdt.	A little before Antiochus Epiphanes. §. 268. p. 988.
Jahn.	* End of the Captivity. The first year of Cyrus, or perhaps later. Pt. II. §. 50. p. 246.
Eichorn.	* Written probably by Ezra, or (if Ezra was not the author of the book which goes by his name) by the author of Ezra.
Augusti.	* Probably, compiled by Ezra, §. 144. p. 204.

I had arranged a few other books also, Ezra, Nehemiah, &c. but as they are pretty generally considered nearly contemporary history, it is hardly worth while to proceed further in this table. I have marked with an asterisk those opinions to which I wish particularly to draw the attention of my readers. It will be seen from these opinions, how unsettled the question is at present, even among the Neologists themselves.—The observations which I have to offer in connexion with this Table, will relate to different subjects, which it will be most convenient to treat of under separate heads. My readers will, therefore, find the remainder of Appendix (A) divided into the following sections :

SECT. 1. On the *general results* deducible from an examination of this table.

SECT. 2. On the Pentateuch.

SECT. 3. On the Books of Chronicles.

SECT. 4. A few miscellaneous remarks on modern critical enquiries in Hebrew, especially those of Gesenius, Ewald, and Hartmann.

<sup>1</sup> This opinion is considered more at length in Section 3.

SECT. 1. ON THE GENERAL RESULTS DEDUCIBLE FROM  
THIS TABLE.

THE following are the results deducible from an examination of this table.

1. Gesenius divides the Books of the Bible into two classes,—

1st. Those Books written before the Captivity.

2nd. Those written after it or during it:

And he contends that there is a marked difference in the language and style of the two classes.

In the first class he places the Pentateuch, (with, *perhaps*, the exception of Deuteronomy, or parts of it,) and most of the Historical Books, *e. g.* Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings (with the exception of some later additions).

2. Other Neologist writers bring the Books of the Pentateuch, or at least some of them, down to the time of the Captivity.

Let us here pause for a moment, to ask ourselves a few plain questions. One of the arguments used for the non-Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch, is the circumstance that, if it be the work of Moses, the language of the Hebrews must have been almost unchanged for nearly ten centuries—a fact unparalleled in the history of language. This is the argument of Gesenius and several others, to which Jahn has made answer, (as I learn from Gesenius *Gesch. der Hebr. Sprache*, &c. p. 20, and Rosenmüller, *Proleg. in Pent.* §. 5,) that the Syrian of the Peschito of the second century, is not essentially different from that of Abulfarage in the thirteenth. I confess that I attach but little weight to *a priori* arguments of this nature—settling by the usual course of language in many countries, the *necessary course* of it in any other<sup>1</sup>. It

<sup>1</sup> This argument is perfectly in character and keeping, as far as I know, with the other opinions of Gesenius, but it is rather strange in the mouth of persons who can believe that Ossian's Poems descended orally for fourteen centuries, and were quite intelligible and good Argyleshire Gaelic at the end of this remarkable process. See my remarks on Hartmann über den Pentateuch, &c. in the Introduction to these Lectures.



may be the more likely course, but no arguments of probability ought to have the smallest weight, when *facts* tend to give a different result. And it must be remembered, also, that many circumstances tend to modify such arguments as are drawn from probability, and to shew that the course of languages is not to be calculated entirely like the motions of a planet, but that particular cases baffle general laws. I am told by those who understand Welsh, that the change in that language from a period previous to Chaucer is very trifling, while the change in our language has been such as to render his works almost unintelligible to plain uneducated men. The Welsh have certainly been less subject to change from commercial intercourse; but here is, at any rate, an instance of two languages, under the same climate, and within the same four seas, whose course has been most widely different. I only mention this, however, as an argument, by the way, to teach us caution in generalizing. Let us now proceed with the case of the Hebrew language.

It is, then, clear that if Gesenius *establishes any thing*, he shews that the language *before* the Captivity differed from that used *after* the Captivity.

'By no means,' say other Neologists, Gramberg, Hartmann, &c. At least, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, were written, as well as some parts of Genesis, after the Captivity, or during it.

If they are right in this fact, Gesenius is wrong in the distinction he draws between the two periods of the language.

If Gesenius is right in his distinction of the two periods, this distinction is entirely fatal to the opinion of Gramberg, that Leviticus and Numbers, Joshua, &c. were written after or during the Captivity<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> There is, to be sure, another supposition, but I hardly imagine that any person capable of reasoning, and sufficiently acquainted with Hebrew to estimate the nature of the distinction drawn by Gesenius between the two periods, will ever maintain it. It is this, that this distinction really exists, but that the books were written by different authors in the same period. It is hardly to be supposed (if the supposition were otherwise possible, from the mutual dependence of the books of the Bible) that the

I think, that when the Christian world is required to change its belief on the bidding of these philologists, they are bound, in the first place, to settle these differences between themselves, because they are not only differences, but palpable contradictions and inconsistencies, *which affect the main source of all their arguments*;—or the Christian will be justified (to use a parliamentary phrase) *in moving the previous question*, and refusing to consider the case at all.

3. It appears that in some cases the different Neologists contradict each other, in a manner which is hardly reconcilable with the supposition that any of them have very definite data to proceed upon: *e. g.*

De Wette and Gramberg are quite sure that Judges is far older than Joshua.

On the contrary, Bertholdt tells us that Judges was certainly composed *after* Joshua.

Leo, the writer of the Lectures in which the new philological enquiries, and philosophical principles of history, are applied to the Bible, seems at fault here, for at one time he makes Judges an older book than Joshua, while by his language on other occasions one would suppose that he thought them written nearly at the same time; for in the same page he sets Joshua 'not earlier than towards the end of the kingdom of Judah,' and Judges not earlier than the later time of the Kings. LEO, p. 90.

We are, therefore, if we follow the new teachers, to reject two out of three of their opinions in this case. But we must not complain, for we have a sufficient choice of opinions left to us. We may believe that Joshua was written *before*, or *after*, or *at the same time with* Judges!

Jews used two different stages of the same language for their written books at the selfsame period. I do not mean two such distinct dialects as the Chaldee and the Hebrew of Daniel, but two modes of writing, (I hardly know what term to give, but that which I have chosen, '*stages*') which are so alike that only a critical eye can detect their non-identity, and yet are to be critically separated by *flexions*, *words*, and *phrases*, used in the one and not in the other.

It is perhaps scarcely fair to press very hardly on Professor Leo's arrangement, for he seems to trouble himself but very little with the philological part of the question, simply contenting himself with some very superficial applications of the notion of Gesenius and Vater, that the similarity of language in the various books of the Old Testament shews that they were not written at very large intervals of time.

Again, De Wette and Gramberg are quite at variance as to the time of Joshua and Deuteronomy. Gramberg places them after, De Wette before the Captivity.

The truth is, that the existence of Joshua and Deuteronomy at any time before the Captivity, would destroy Gramberg's whole scheme; it is therefore condemned. I had written the same sentiment on this subject long before I saw Dahler's remark on De Wette. He accuses De Wette of attacking Chronicles, *only because it was inconsistent with his scheme.*

4. The last part of these facts, the notions of the Neologists about the Chronicles, is the most curious point of all. In all my enquiries on these subjects, I am inclined to weigh all that is brought before me seriously and calmly; and, after some practice, it is not a trifle which is likely to astonish me, but I confess that I find myself in some difficulty in one case, I mean when De Wette, Gesenius, and Gramberg, undertake to teach the writers of the Bible their own language!

I had, indeed, been used to find that the writers were *always wrong* in etymologies<sup>1</sup>; but I was hardly prepared to find that some of them did not know Hebrew, and were unable to construe the older books in it! Still, De Wette and Gesenius inform us that such is the case; and until they establish an adult school in Germany for the purpose of teaching Hebrew, I fear that those who have learned Hebrew (i. e. Hebrew properly so called, to the exclusion of Rabbinical and Talmudic Hebrew, which can, of course, only be learned from later writings) from the writers of the Scriptures

<sup>1</sup> See Gramberg's *Libri Geneseos, &c. Adumbratio nova, passim.*

I have remarked some instances of this in the *British Critic*, Vol. VIII.

must be content to remain in a still lower stage of ignorance than their masters. I have, however, weighed the arguments brought by Gesenius to shew that the writer of Chronicles often misunderstood the books of Samuel and Kings, and the result of part of my investigations is given in the third section of this Appendix.

#### SECT. 2. ON THE AGE OF THE PENTATEUCH.

It will be observed that Gesenius attempts to prove Deuteronomy later than the other books of the Pentateuch, by internal evidence, and Gramberg assigns it to the time of the Captivity. Gesenius rests his argument mainly on the style and language, Gramberg on the Levitical fashion of the book. On the contrary, De Wette (in his *Beiträge*, quoted by Gramberg, i. pp. 305—307) fixes on Deuteronomy as the book found by Hilkiah, while Augusti tells us (*Historisch-Kritische Einleitung*, §. 103), that most critics fix upon Deuteronomy as the book of the Pentateuch which was earliest in existence, with the exception of the Ten Commandments, and some myths, &c. He says that these critics have maintained,

1. That only a few passages of Exodus and Deuteronomy (*e. g.* the Ten Commandments and some other passages) are from Moses himself, and that the rest of the books was added at different times.

2. That the Jews had a book of the covenant, and a *copious codex* of Deuteronomy (*ausführlicher codex*), which was their book of authority.

3. That in David's time there were national songs and written annals.

And, lastly, that out of these sources the Pentateuch was worked up into its present form about the time of the Captivity.

He himself, however, seems (§. 115, note) to adopt De Wette's opinion, and to think Deuteronomy the book found or written by Hilkiah<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> From this statement of Augusti's opinion it will be seen that it was impossible to incorporate his views on the Pentateuch into the preceding table.

Even this late season, however, is not late enough for Gramberg. It unfortunately happens to contain more passages of a priest-ridden character, and to have more affinity with Joshua, than he can allow to the times of Josiah; and, in short, if Deuteronomy be placed in that season, it would entirely destroy the whole system. Deuteronomy must, of course, give way—not his system.

We see, then, that some of the new school make Deuteronomy the foundation of the books of the Law, while others consider it the latest of all of them. Which, I ask, are we to believe? or are we, out of deference to the philosophy of history, to believe both, and trust to Professor Leo for reconciling the contradiction?

But we have more witnesses to call into court. Dr Bleek places Deuteronomy *just before* the Captivity (see Hartmann, Pent. p. 703); but Ewald gives an entirely different opinion on the subject. I will therefore translate the passage in Dr Hartmann's book in which his opinion is quoted, as I am sorry to say, that the only copy of the Götting'sche Gelehrte Anzeigen to which I have access is at present incomplete, and does not contain the review mentioned below.

"The above-mentioned learned writer of Göttingen<sup>1</sup>, in "his review of Leo's Lectures, (p. 161 of the Götting'sche "Gel. Anz. for 1829), has stated, that the result of his enquiries about the age of the Pentateuch is to this effect: "The first four books of the Pentateuch must have been "in existence in their present state *by the tenth century* "(schon im zehnten Jahrhundert), and only the last book "(without the older conclusion, which does not belong to the "proper repetition of the Law, namely, Deut. i. 1—xxxii. 47<sup>2</sup>) "belongs to a later age, viz. to the seventh century. *No "part of the Law can belong to the time of the Captivity.*" "In the first four books, again, older parts are to be distinguished, *which must have been written long before the*

<sup>1</sup> Professor Ewald.

<sup>2</sup> I translate my original as I find it, but I suppose the parenthesis ought to end at the words 'the Law.'

"tenth century, especially (besides the Ten Commandments) "the code of Laws which occurs in Exodus xxi.—xxiii. "which is written in a very antiquated and clearly different language"!

Let us now ascertain what this testimony amounts to, by a recurrence to the dates which it gives.

1. The tenth century begins with the dedication of Solomon's Temple (B. C. 1004), and ends in the reign of Ahab (from B. C. 918 to 897); but the word *schon* appears to me to intimate rather the commencement of it, (lit. *already in the tenth century*); and therefore we find, that, according to Ewald, the first four books of the Law must have existed before the dedication of Solomon's temple, or just about that time.

2. The seventh century gives us from the death of Hezekiah, 698 B. C. to that of Josiah, 610. B. C.

The first part of this opinion is rather a contradiction to Gesenius and his followers, who think the Pentateuch was composed after David's days, though it is uncertain from this extract *how much older* than Solomon (or the tenth century) Professor Ewald will allow these books to be. There is also another remarkable circumstance about this opinion. It decides that the latter part of Deuteronomy is older than the rest, while two of the strongest arguments which Gesenius advances for the *late* composition of Deuteronomy, are drawn from this very portion of it (ch. xxxiii.)! See above, Lect. III. pp. 61—65.

The second part of this opinion excludes the age of the Captivity for Deuteronomy, to which some of the critics wish to assign it, while others actually (see above) make it the oldest part of the Law. Here again we meet with nothing but contradiction among these critics. Professor Ewald, however, deserves more regard than most of those whom I have quoted, from his profound knowledge of Hebrew. But even in his Hebrew criticism he is not quite free from rashness<sup>3</sup>, and he is apt, perhaps, sometimes to

<sup>3</sup> See Hartmann, Pent. 560. He here quotes an assertion made by Professor Ewald, to the following effect, "It is indubitably an approach to the Aramaic,

refine too much, and to become fanciful. But as he is a man who has studied Hebrew deeply, and thinks for himself, he deserves more regard than the second-rate retailers of other men's opinions, who are sometimes quoted as independent authorities.

We have now to consider another point, in which we find a difficulty from the contradictory views of the Neologists themselves. The first ten chapters of Genesis have been very often supposed by Neologian writers to betray marks of a Babylonian origin. As soon as their antiquity is doubted by one writer, of course his doubts are repeated by a multitude of inferior persons, and supported by such arguments as a lecturer is likely to be able to find in providing instruction for a lecture-room, where he must express a decided opinion<sup>1</sup>. But let us hear one of the great Neologians himself. No less a person than Dr Hartmann tells us (Pent. pp. 9, 10), 'It is, after examination, now placed beyond a doubt, that the last four books of the Pentateuch were written with reference to Genesis. We may quote (as Schumann has most luminously shewn, p. 411) these passages of Exodus, which prove it beyond a doubt:

Exod. xx. 10, 11, which refers to Gen. ii. 2.

Exod. xxxii. 13..... Gen. xii. 2.'

This is not a little remarkable. Dr Hartmann makes the Ten Commandments, which all the Neologians consider the oldest of all the fragments of the Pentateuch, refer to the first chapters of Genesis, wherein a cosmogony is contained which the Jews learnt only in Babylon!

I beg again, *en passant*, to refer my readers to Keil's *Apologetischer Versuch*, p. 70, where they will find a note from Dr Olshausen very much to the purpose, when we

Aramaic, when ל stands for לך in the later books of the Bible. On the whole it is rare, and *never occurs in the older books.*" This assertion Hartman controverts, by producing two instances, from Judges i. 16. (לך יעלה לנו) "who will lead us up," and x. 14.

<sup>1</sup> See Pusey on Cathedral Establishments, p. 46.

are considering the doctrines derived by the Jews from Babylon. He says, "in the regions into which Nebuchadnezzar carried the Jews, the Chaldeans reigned, from whose national worship such an influence on the Jews cannot be derived, for they had no demonology (Munter's opinion, *Relig. der Babyl.* p. 89, that there were doctrines about spirits (demons, angels, &c.) in the esoteric doctrines of the Chaldees, is a mere hypothesis); and we are also inclined to ask whether the Zend doctrine, on the influence of which the notion that the Jews received their demonology in the Captivity is entirely founded, ever prevailed in the Chaldean empire? There were Magi there before the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus (v. Bertholdt's 3rd Excursus to Daniel), but whether they were worshippers of Ormuzd, and acquainted with Ahriman, is very doubtful, for (see Gesenius, second addition (beilage) to his *Comm. on Isaiah*) all the Chaldee names of gods are utterly unlike the Persian. But even if the Zend doctrine had been an esoteric doctrine of the Chaldees, how were the wretched Jewish exiles to learn it—aye, and learn so much as to alter their own religion?"

I do not vouch for these opinions. I only propose the question they contain to the consideration of those who, on the first hint that the Jews borrowed their cosmogony and their demonology, &c. from the Chaldeans, condemn the first ten chapters of Genesis. One would have thought that the wretched blunders of Voltaire, in his attempts to shew how much the Jews borrowed of the Chaldeans, and the miserable figure he makes in the hands of the Abbé Guenée, would have warned persons that this was dangerous ground. See the *Lettres de quelques Juifs*, Vol. II. p. 127. The part of this work to which I allude is the 5th extract from the '*Petit Commentaire*,' especially §. 3.

To return, however, to Dr Hartmann and the Penta-teuch.

<sup>2</sup> Hüllman, a neologian writer, tells us that the Levitical doctrines did not spring from the Chaldean, but both from a common source. *Staats verfassung der Israeliten*. Berlin, 1834, p. 21.



It does seem rather extraordinary that the least suspected and most ancient part of Exodus (according to general admission) should be written in reference to one of the most suspected portions of Genesis.

But, perhaps, it only refers to the body of the *myth*, not to its *dress*! Alas! it refers to the very fundamental part of the cosmogony which the Jews are decided to have borrowed entirely from the Chaldees—the fact that the world was created in six days!

We must again request the neological writers to settle their own differences, and reconcile their own contradictions, before they ask us to renounce our belief.

I shall add no more at present on this head, and only allude generally, in the remainder of this Section, to some of the other objections which have been insisted upon in the discussion of the genuineness of the Pentateuch.

In the book of Hartmann entitled *Die Hebräerin am Putztische* (The Hebrew Lady at her Toilette), there are a variety of arguments to shew that the tabernacle, as described in Exodus, can neither have been devised nor executed in the wilderness. This is only an amplification of the arguments of Vater, *Ueber den Pentateuch*, which were tolerably well answered by Dr Fritzsche.

The arguments are derived,

1. From the improbability that so much of the precious metals should be found among the people at that time.

2. From the expensiveness of crimson or scarlet in later days, because the dye was so dear.

3. From the costliness of Solomon's temple. This was most expensive, and therefore the tabernacle would be so also; and it is unlikely that a nomad people should have so much wealth or so many articles of an expensive nature.

(It must be remembered that the Egyptians gave large presents to the Israelites.)

4. Solomon needed Phenician workmen. How could the Israelites have had good workmen in the wilderness?

(How can Dr Hartmann tell what workmen came from Egypt?)

5. The time required for Solomon's temple was twenty years, the tabernacle was finished in twelve months.

(Solomon's temple was a far greater work.)

6. The tabernacle was divided into three parts, in imitation of Solomon's temple.

(*Our account is* that Solomon's temple was divided into three parts in imitation of the tabernacle: I leave the decision to my readers.)

Such are the chief grounds on which the antiquity of this portion of the Pentateuch is disputed. I confess I think arguments like these, resting on the opinion of these writers as to what was probable, are scarcely worth any more detailed answer than the hints supplied above to each distinct head. We know nothing, or hardly any thing, but what the Bible tells us about the state of things in those days, and therefore it is only opposing hypothesis and opinion to its evidence when we adopt the suggestions of these writers.

In judging, *à priori*, of the probability of any accounts, we must be careful not to judge too much from our own confined experience, and from prejudices derived from the very narrowness of its limits. Any officer who has moved with an Indian camp will state facts which, *à priori*, one should be inclined to doubt, about the skill of some of the followers of the army in working gold and jewellery generally. They are servants, and persons in very subordinate situations.

Again, the very household servants among the Hindoos are often very skilful in the same sort of work. I have seen articles of jewellery made up by a Hindoo servant in a day or two, and with the simple apparatus which he carried about with him; and I think it would have required a practised eye to ascertain that they were not made by one of the first workmen in a large city like London or Paris.

This, I am aware, proves no part of our case. I only think it may caution our adversaries against judging too rashly of the state of the arts among a people of whom we know so little except from the Bible, and it may shew

our friends that we should often decide wrongly, if we decided from our first impressions as to probability<sup>1</sup>.

The truth is, both here and elsewhere *our principles* and those of our adversaries are diametrically opposite. We hold that there was a supernatural interference of God's providence; they will not allow it, and they have therefore to explain away all that contradicts their notions. I cannot do better than recommend the Appendix to Dr Graves's Lectures on the Pentateuch, and the *Lettres de quelques Juifs*, &c. to those who wish to see arguments of this nature more fully considered.

### SECT. 3. ON THE BOOKS OF CHRONICLES.

THE necessity for any very lengthened notice of the opinions of Gesenius and De Wette, has been obviated by a work lately published in Germany by M. Keil, containing a refutation of all the chief arguments urged against the authenticity of these books. But as I had collected a few remarks on the philological questions involved in this discussion, I subjoin some of them, because it may be satisfactory to my readers to see the results arrived at by independent enquiries. I will therefore first state the notions advocated by Gesenius, and then attempt to shew their unsoundness, by producing instances which shew the false reasoning on which he builds.

He imagines that the Chronicles were written when the language was dying away, and that in part their author misunderstood the older sources from which he derived his information, whether the books of Samuel and Kings, or these and other sources, and in part altered them, lest his fellow-countrymen should misunderstand them. He quotes in proof of his notions,

#### 1. A later orthography.

<sup>1</sup> These discussions really remind one of those between Voltaire and the Abbé Guenée, on the subject of the Molten Calf, in consequence of the article *Fonté*, in the *Encyclopédie*, and the Questions upon it. *Lettres de quelques Juifs*, Vol. 1. Petit Commentaire, &c. Premier Extract.

## 2. Later words.

3. Grammatical glosses for phrases and words of Kings.

4. Explanatory glosses of ditto.

5. Passages where a *quid pro quo* is given for words, &c. used in Kings and Samuel, and in some instances such a *quid pro quo* as shews that the writer misunderstood the language.

It would be endless to go through all these; a few instances of the last two classes will suffice to shew the nature of his arguments.

1. Among the explanatory glosses given by him is this.

In 2 Kings xxi. 3, the following phrase occurs: **הַגְּבוּלֹת אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי הָרַסְתִּי**. The high places which Hezekiah *destroyed*. In the parallel passage, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 3, the word **אֲנִי** is replaced by **נָתַן** because **אֲנִי** was commonly used only for destroying *life*.

I grant that this is the most common use of the word, but it is also applied to other things also; *e. g.* in Numbers xxxiii. 52, to destroying *images*, (comp. Leo, vi. 3, 4, where it is spoken of a thing *lost*). In Lament. ii. 9, it is applied to *bars of gates*. In Ezek. vi. 3, it is applied to **בְּמֹות** as in Kings. See also xxvi. 17, and xxx. 13.

The word which the Chronicler (my readers must excuse this abbreviated form of expression) has substituted applies, as far as I am aware, only to *breaking down* any thing, such as a *wall*, a *city*, or the like, and is perhaps in some respects the most appropriate word of the two.

But let us look at the real meaning of the first word. Its proper sense is *to make to perish*, with the notion, perhaps, of so consuming that *the very remembrance* of the thing or person made to perish is entirely lost. If so, it is clear that such a word would be equally proper as applied to persons, cities, or nations; and then I beg to ask, what possible conclusion Gesenius had a right to draw from the Chronicler using another word, except that two writers used two different words each being equally applicable?

But the *gravamen* of the charge against the Chronicler is his misunderstanding Hebrew! Let us take a few of

the instances of this ignorance. Gesenius adduces about ten. Out of these I will produce such as I happened to examine first.

1. "The somewhat unusual phrase נִצְתָה חֲמִי *my wrath is kindled*, in 2 Kings xxii. 13, 17, is replaced in 2 Chron. xxxiv. 21, by the more common expression הִתְתָּחַח *my wrath is poured out*, but it is done so unsuitably, that the clause וְלֹא תִכְבֶּה *and shall not be quenched*, remains attached to it. The Chronicler cannot have known the etymological signification of the latter phrase." Gesenius, *Gesch.* p. 43.

In the first place, it is difficult to imagine any ignorance of Hebrew so gross as Gesenius supposes, for the word נָתַךְ appears to me never to be used in any other sense than that of *pouring out* (unless in that of *melting*, which does not apply here), and therefore there is no remote etymology which could be forgotten. But what conclusion can Gesenius possibly draw from such a passage, unless he shews that a mode of speech so common in other languages, as a *confusion* of metaphors, is to have no place in Hebrew? Has he never read the line of Horace:

Urit enim fulgore suo, qui prægravat artes

Infra se positas, &c.

Ep. II. l. 13.

Or would he contend that Horace did not know the meaning of *urere*?

2. "2 Kings xxii. 13. כָּכָל־הַכְּתוּב עָלֵינוּ<sup>1</sup>, *according to all which was prescribed (or commanded) to us*."

"2 Chron. xxxiv. 21. כָּכָל־הַכְּתוּב בְּסֵפֶר הַזֶּה *according to all which is written in this book*. The expression כָּתַב עַל *to prescribe or command* (*vorschreiben*) was apparently a strange one to the compiler or editor (*überarbeiter*)." *Ibid.* p. 43.

It happens that Gesenius has here quoted the Book of Chronicles incorrectly; עַל is used instead of כִּי but this would be of little importance, if it did not happen that the

<sup>1</sup> The English translation is different, 'in all which was written concerning us.'

Chronicler has here used a phrase which he found in the very next chapter of Kings. In 2 Kings xxiii. 3, occurs the very expression used by the Chronicler. The king promises before the Lord to keep all the statutes, &c. **יִהְיֶה כָּל הַחֻקִּים אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה**. The first phrase, if Gesenius has translated it right, is decidedly not a common one. The nearest approach to it, however, which I have remarked is in one of the books which, according to the Neologists, are very late and corrupt, (viz. Esther viii. 8), and therefore one would not expect a *late* writer to be confused by it. Compare Ps. xl. 8, also. But whether the phrase be good or common Hebrew, or not, how likely is it that, if the Chronicler copied from the book of Kings at all, he might copy the phrase in xxiii. 3, about the selfsame matter, and not that in xxii. 13, when it seems that even the writer in Kings does not keep to the same expression in the two passages?

3. The last instance which I shall produce will require a somewhat longer discussion; but I think I may venture to say that it will not be without interest to those who care for Hebrew criticism, to whom alone I address myself.

"1 Kings x. 14. **מְלִכֵי הָעָרִב** apparently, if we follow the Chaldee paraphrase, *the kings of the alliance or league*."

"In 2 Chron. ix. 14, we have instead of this **מְלִכֵי עָרָב** *the kings of Arabia*. This will hardly suit the passage, because it seems that none but subjects of Solomon are here spoken of. See my Hebrew Lex. in voce **עָרָב**." Gesen. Gesch. p. 42.

In the first place, then, our translators have, even in the first passage, translated the word by '*Arabia*,' which can hardly be right, because if Arabia were meant it would not have the definite article.

Let us apply then to the Chaldee paraphrast. He says **סוּמְכוּתָא מְלִכֵי** *kings of the alliance*. I might here, if I approved of special pleading, I might say that Buxtorf<sup>2</sup> gives *Ethiopia and Arabia* as sometimes the meaning of **סוּמְכוּתָא**

<sup>2</sup> Buxtorf, Lex. Chald. et Syri. in voce.

but I am convinced, on referring to the passages his father adduces<sup>1</sup>, that there is no authority for this, except a translation of one passage, where he immediately appends *a better*. I therefore take it that this word really means *alliance* or *league*, as Jarchi tells us:

תירנס יוכתו וכל מלכי סומכוותא לשון ערובה המלכים שהיו  
נערוכותו וסומכו' עליו גרנט"יאה בלע"ו.

'That is to say, The targum of Jonathan gives מְלָכֵי סִמְכוּתָא a word indicating *alliance*, *The kings that were in alliance with him* גְּרַמְטִיָּאָה *garantié* in a foreign language,' i. e. in French, which Jarchi always denotes by בִּלְעָן<sup>2</sup>. Thus far, I think, this enquiry confirms the opinion of Gesenius, in some degree, as to the meaning of the first passage. Let us, however, proceed to investigate the question a little further.

The following is a translation of a passage in Kimchi, *Sepher Harshorashim*. I do not think it needful to copy the Hebrew: any one who has access to the book can refer to the passage.

שִׁפְטִיהָ וְאָבִי עָרֵב and וְחָדָו מֵאֲבֵי עָרֵב. These, and "all passages like them, have the meaning of '*the desert*,' "though they may be translated '*wolves of the evening*,' because wolves come prowling to the city of an evening to "tear their prey, and thus the Targum of Jonathan renders it מְדִיבֵי רִמְשָׁא *wolves of the evening*. We have "also עָרֵב וְכָל נְשִׂאֵי קֶדֶר (Ez. xxvi.), and כָּל מְלָכֵי עָרֵב (Jer. xxv.), and מִשָּׂא בְּעָרֵב (Isai. xxi.), and מְלָכֵי הָעָרֵב (Jer. xxv.) Now this last is with six dots," (i. e. points,

<sup>1</sup> Buxtorf, *Lex. Talmud*, *in voce*.

<sup>2</sup> See Kimchi also, *Sepher Haashorashim*, *in voce*, where he used the Hebrew letters פִּירְמָנָה and אִוְשָׁנִי, which I take to be *firmance* and *hostage*, as he speaks of the sons of princes who are given up to the house of the king, as *pledges*, that the people so pledged will not revolt. It is sometime extremely difficult to ascertain what word is meant, when Rabbinical writers quote a foreign language (בלשן עַוּ or *abbrev.* בִּלְעָן), because Jewish pronunciation is not proverbially good, and Hebrew letters and vowels inadequately express even that.

of which there are six in two *segols*), "and it means the "Arabians that dwell in the desert; but וְאֵת כָּל הָעֶרֶב is "with five dots," (i. e. with a *tzere* and a *segol*), "that is, "a people collected together out of a multitude of nations, "just as in רַב עֶרֶב רַב<sup>1</sup>, and וְיָת סוֹמְכוֹתָא where the word "alludes to *alliance*, or *pledges*, and that has five points."

This does not quite complete the matter, but leads us on to the true explanation of the difference between Kings and Chronicles, by its quotation of one passage. Look at Jer. xxv. 24. and you will find *both phrases joined together!* וְאֵת כָּל מַלְכֵי עֶרֶב וְאֵת כָּל מַלְכֵי הָעֶרֶב It would seem that these two phrases together were used to designate the princes of states that bordered on Judæa and Arabia; the latter part of it implying either a *mixture* of nations, or a *league of alliance*. What, therefore, can be more likely, supposing the *full phrase to be common*, than that one writer should use one clause of it, and another take the other half? I think this will explain the matter, without supposing the Chronicler ignorant of his own language. The answer given by Keil, which I referred to after I had finished this account, is, in some respects, different from mine.

In order to put my readers in possession of the whole case, with regard to this passage, I give the argument of Keil, Apologetischer Versuch, pp. 297, 298.

"In 1 Kings x. 15, it is stated that Solomon received gold from the greater and lesser merchants, and from all the kings in alliance (וּפְלִמְלֵי הָעֶרֶב), and from the governors of the provinces. In 2 Chron. ix. 14, instead of הָעֶרֶב מ' we have 'all the kings of Arabia' (מ' עֶרֶב). Gramberg, following Gesenius (*ubi supra*), settles, in p. 64, that 'Arabia does not suit the passage, because only the subjects of Solomon are mentioned.' But Gesenius translates 'the kings of the auxiliaries, or of the league.' Were these then subjects of Solomon?" Keil then argues, that even if the indefinite expression הָעֶרֶב which may be taken for a *mixed*

<sup>1</sup> This seems to me a misprint in Kimchi, for being a quotation (from Exod. xii. 38) it ought to be pointed.



people, (see Jerem. L. 37, xxv. 20), had been replaced by עֲרָב, which is a more definite expression, his explanation would not have been improper, because Jeremiah (xxv. 24.) quotes the two phrases together where the word עֲרָב can only mean the tribes that dwell in the deserts of Arabia. But, adds Keil, there is no proof even of his having done this. He has only removed the article (comp. Exod. xii. 34, and Neh. viii. 3), and the Masorites may have added the points.

I have thus examined three out of ten instances produced by Gesenius, in order to *shew the nature* of his arguments. It cannot, surely, be necessary to waste more ink in arguing about the others, which are much of the same kind. If I am called upon to go through the whole of them as I have through these, I am ready to do it, but it seems to me that it would be useless, for nothing can be more contemptible and feeble than the grounds on which this charge is advanced. The specimens here given will suffice to make the sort of argument which is resorted to apparent to every Hebrew scholar.

The historical arguments would lead one into too complicated a field at present, and I must only refer again to Dahler and Keil. I may say, that the latter has fully considered the question of the '*Darics*,' and of the genealogy of Zerubbabel in 1 Chron. iii. 19—24, which are two of the passages which afford most difficulty, (Keil, p. 11 and p. 43), as well as all the usual arguments. I think *no conclusion* can be drawn from the genealogy, for it seems doubtful, in the first place, whether it be a genealogy of successive generations or collateral branches; and if the passage be not an interpolation, it seems so crowded with difficulties in itself as to lead us to suppose some corruption in the text. The reader is probably aware that no Chaldee paraphrase of Chronicles was ever published till Beck, in 1680, published the Targum of this portion of Scripture from a MS. in Germany. *The verses* containing this genealogy *are there omitted*. In the edition printed a few years after by Wilkins, from a MS. in the public Library of Cambridge, *they are found*; and, as I was anxious about the matter, I wished

to collate the MS. but unfortunately no trace of it, or of its existence (except that the Duke of Buckingham gave it to us from the library of Erpenius, as stated by Wilkins) remains in our Library.

SECT. 4. A FEW MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS ON THE HEBREW CRITICISMS OF GESENIUS, HARTMANN, EWALD, &c.

THIS Appendix has already extended to so great a length, that I must compress the remarks I have to add into as brief a space as possible.

I am, however, anxious to caution those who are entering on these studies against implicit faith in the assertions which they find in modern German critics, whose learning and ingenuity lead them to make subtle refinements in Hebrew criticism, which they are afterwards obliged to support by such arguments as they can invent. I refer more particularly to the criteria which they profess to find of the different styles of the books of Scripture. It seems to me, that having found a word or two in one writer which they do not find elsewhere, they immediately attempt to separate his style from that of every other book of the Old Testament, and that they then swell their list of words peculiar to him to a respectable amount; but the means by which this is done is a mystery which I am unable to fathom. I cannot suppose writers like Gesenius or Hartmann dishonest and base enough to attempt to support an opinion by arguments which they know to be false, and thus to give lists of words peculiar to one writer, or one class of writers, which *they know* to be used by others, but I am utterly at a loss to discover how they can be ignorant that this is often the case with the lists which they constantly publish. It is possible that in some instances they may have trusted to the Lexicon of Gesenius, but the only safe guide is a concordance<sup>1</sup>. If they ever looked at Calasio's Concord-

<sup>1</sup> Of all concordances that of Calasio is the most fitted for this purpose, because it arranges the passages under the different books of the Old Testament, and not under the different parts of the verbs, or the different affixes with which a substantive may be accompanied, like that of Buxtorf. The best

ance while they formed their lists, nothing can rescue them from the charge of deliberate falsehood, and a dishonesty which would utterly disqualify them, in the opinion of most men, for all the functions of sacred critics; if they did not, they cannot be acquitted of great rashness and wilful negligence. It is a serious evil to publish a list of words, like that which I have examined from Hartmann and Gesenius, in the notes to my third lecture, and stamp it with the authority of a learned name, which may impose upon the ignorant, or those who have not the leisure and the opportunity of examining it with care. If they do not know that their assertions are correct, they have no right to publish them with authority; and, instead of promoting the cause of sound criticism, they are doing their utmost to retard it. It is needless to recur to the list of words from Deuteronomy which I have already examined, but I will add an instance or two of the same sort from Gesenius, *Geschichte der Hebraischen Sprache und Schrift*, p. 28.

In that very useful little volume he gives a list of words and phrases which he says are peculiar to the later writers of the Old Testament. I have examined several of these, but not all, and in some instances I think he was justified in his assertion. But the following instances will shew how carelessly the catalogue has been formed.

1. The word שָׁלַט *he ruled*, with its derivatives שָׁלִיט *a prince*, and שְׁלִטוֹן *dominion*, are marked as later words.

It occurs in Nehemiah, Esther, 119th Psalm, (which being an *alphabetical* Psalm is sometimes called a late one on that very account), and frequently in Ecclesiastes.

It occurs however in Ezekiel also, (which though written in the Captivity, is not so late as the Neologists wish to prove Ecclesiastes), but, last of all, it occurs in Genesis itself! See Genesis xlii. 6.

2. אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם This phrase is said to be a late phrase, while the more ancient one which it replaces is אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת.

best edition of Noldii *Concordantia Particularum* (Jena 1734) is also very useful, but not to the same extent in these enquiries.

This sometimes occurs without **יְהוָה** prefixed, as in Neh. i. 4; ii. 4, 20, but in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 23; Ezra i. 2, it has this other appellation prefixed. I beg to state also that (with **יְהוָה** before it) it occurs twice in Genesis, xxiv. 3, 7.

3. The next and last instance which I will adduce is one in which I do not find a direct contradiction to the assertion of Gesenius, but I think that the insertion of this word in the list affords another instance of the carelessness with which it is compiled.

The phrase which Gesenius quotes as a mark of a late writer is this: **לֶחֶם הַמַּעֲרֶכֶת** for '*the shew-bread*,' whereas in the older books it is called **לֶחֶם הַפָּנִים**.

Let us then look at the examples which I have collected, as he gives none himself. In Exod. xxv. 30 we have **לֶחֶם פָּנִים לְפָנֵי תִמְד** from which an abbreviated expression is formed, which occurs in Numb. iv. 7, **לֶחֶם תִּמְד**, '*the bread (which is) continually (before me)*.'

In Exod. xxxv. 13, and xxxix. 36, **לֶחֶם הַפָּנִים** is found, as also in 1 Sam. xxi. 7; 1 Kings vii. 48.

So far, therefore, we find some of the ancient books (though the Neologists bring Kings down to a late season) apparently uniform in their usage. But let us enquire a little further.

This bread seems to have gone under *different* names even in early days. (See Numb. iv. 7, and Lev. xxi. 6, 8, 17, 21, 22; xxii. 25, where it seems to me to be called **לֶחֶם אֱלֹהִים** '*the bread of your God*;' and 1 Sam. vii. 5, where it is called **לֶחֶם קֹדֶשׁ** '*holy bread*.) And, lastly, even in Exodus itself there are two phrases which seem to prove that this expression was probably in use in those days, although it does not happen to occur in the books which remain.

I rest my assertion on the use of the verb **עָרַךְ** as applied to setting the bread in order, in Exod. xl. 23.

**וַיַּעֲרֵךְ עָלָיו עֹדֶה לֶחֶם** and *he shall set in order on it the*

*order of bread*, and on the use of the phrase נֶרְתִּי הַמֶּעֶרֶבֶת the shew-lamps, where the very word objected to as a late expression is applied to the *lamps*, which were *with the shew-bread*<sup>1</sup>.

It is not worth while to pursue these enquiries further at present. The last instance is interesting, as it serves to throw some light on the phrase which is quoted; and I have therefore thought it would not weary my readers to go through it fully, especially as this portion of my book is only addressed to those who care for Hebrew philology.

When first I met with these assertions and these lists of words, I confess I was inclined to believe that these critics had made out rather a strong case; but a constant application to Calasio's Concordance soon dissipated the illusion; and, having had some painful experience of the trouble which is caused by such rashness, I am desirous to spare others the unpleasantness of placing implicit confidence in that which they may be obliged afterwards to abandon, and of labouring for themselves to ascertain where the weak point of all these pretended criticisms lies. It is in the attempt to discriminate different styles from so small data, or, rather, the *determination to find* discriminating marks whether they exist or not.

My examination of Dr Hartmann's list will be sufficient to shew how far these remarks apply to him. Still, his *Linguistische Einleitung in das Studium der Bücher des A. T. &c. Bremen*, 1818, amidst much that is fanciful contains some useful collections and remarks; but his collections, like those of Gesenius, can never be relied on till they are verified.

Professor Ewald seems to me to have a higher character for accuracy, but still, in the preface to his Hebrew Gram-

<sup>1</sup> I may perhaps be told that Exod. xl., with a few chapters that precede it, is a later part of Exodus—if so, it takes away *two* instances out of the passages where the *older* expression occurs, and this would shew that in later days *the phrases were both* in use at the same time; which makes out a bad case for its being a chronological test.

mar, there is much that is fanciful. He tells us that the Semitic language divided itself into three branches:

1. The Northern or Aramaic (Syria, Babylonia, Mesopotamia). The language of this tract of country was poor in vowels, &c. partly from the usual effect of a colder climate, &c. and mixed with corruptions from the constant incursions of strangers, &c.

2. The Southern or Arabic, which was richer in vowels and remained more pure.

3. The Middle or Hebrew, (which language, like its country, lay between the two others.)

There is doubtless ingenuity and some truth in this view carried thus far; but when it is extended to determining the part of the country from which a Hebrew writer came by the nature of the dialect he writes, the author seems to me to allow himself to be carried away by his own prejudices. He instances a less pure dialect in Hosea—a subject of Israel, and in the Song of Solomon he finds a north-country dialect, and also traces of an impure one in what he calls the unquestionably genuine Song of Deborah and Barak.

Professor Ewald's opinions are more favourable than most of the Neologians' to the genuineness of the Pentateuch, as I have before observed in Section 2.

He has raised Deuteronomy up to the 7th century at least, and the rest of the books to the 10th. I trust that the next great Hebrew scholar who is destined to rise up in Germany, may end by returning to the old opinions, and supporting them with the characteristic learning of his countrymen.

---

## APPENDIX (B).

WHEN I promised some remarks on Professor Leo's notions about the Levites, I was not aware how difficult a task I had imposed upon myself. It is sometimes difficult to answer arguments, but it is always more difficult to answer opinions where no arguments are adduced. It is

hard to answer sense, but still harder to answer nonsense; but I will lay the case before my readers. He tells us that an argument may be raised against his notion of a successive formation of Levitism, from the circumstance that cities were assigned by Moses and Joshua to the Levites, which were actually in their hands in later days. It is a strong argument, and he is bound to find some explanation of the fact, that all the other tribes had lands while Levi had none.

Now what is his answer?

He reminds us that we must observe how often the Pentateuch contradicts itself about the Levites, and that Deuteronomy mentions nothing about Levitical cities, but that in chapter xix. where the cities of refuge are appointed, which (he says) must be Levitical cities, not a word is mentioned about them, but that in Deuteronomy the common expression is 'The Levites that are in your gates,' from which we are to conclude that 'in the time which the legislation of Deuteronomy contemplates, the Levites had no cities, but lived dispersed among the other cities, just as there were Christian priests before Rome, Avignon, and innumerable other cities were subject, and peculiarly appropriated to, priests!' (Leo, p. 82).

If I understand this rightly, the time which Deuteronomy contemplates is then more *ancient* than that described in the rest of the Pentateuch and Joshua. I must therefore send back Professor Leo to Gesenius, Hartmann, &c. and all his Neological associates who assign Deuteronomy to the time of the Captivity! It is constantly stated in Deuteronomy that the Levites shall have no inheritance in Israel, (*i. e.* no tract of country), and Professor Leo himself quotes a passage from Numbers xviii. 20, which exactly coincides with this expression. Why should not the two arrangements co-exist—the Levites dwelling chiefly in their own cities, but a certain number of them dispersed in other cities as judges and teachers?

He then proceeds to repeat the same proposition in a variety of forms, viz. that the Pentateuch contradicts itself

about the Levites. He says the other books separate the Priests and Levites, and make the Levites subordinate, while they are set on the same level in Deuteronomy. It is rather hard that Professor Leo should have the privilege of making the views propounded in Deuteronomy more ancient and more modern at the same time, just as it happens to serve his purpose. A few sentences back, the Levites were dispersed like Christian priests before the Pope obtained Rome, *i. e.* the state of society in Deuteronomy is more ancient than that in the rest of the Pentateuch. Now, the Levites (by the *successive formation* of Levitism) have arrived at equal dignity with the Priests, *i. e.* Deuteronomy contemplates a later stage of society. Professor Leo may choose his own point of view, and set Deuteronomy where he pleases, but he is bound to keep to the same view for two pages together, or not to speak of the contradictions of the Bible!

In fact, he offers no explanation of the circumstance that the Levites *actually had these cities*, and he only insinuates, that as they had the copying of the Law, &c. they did not like it to appear that they had no rights in ancient days, and therefore interpolated a mention of these cities!

How did they obtain these cities?

Till this question be answered, it is useless to give ourselves any further trouble about nonsense, so entirely without foundation, as these remarks of the Professor.

## APPENDIX (C).

THE following examination of Dr Gramberg's mode of considering Hebrew writers is extracted from a review of his '*Libri Geneseos secundum fontes rite dignoscendos ad-umbratio nova*,' which I sent to the '*British Critic*.' It is here reprinted to illustrate these systems of Criticism, and to shew that I have some reason for distrusting Dr Gramberg's reasonings and conclusions, and that it may perhaps never be worth while to investigate his views at much greater length.

"It appears that he fairly gives up the test of *Elohim* and



*Jehovah*, and for this plain reason, that in many parts\* of Genesis it is utterly untenable, the names being so intermingled as to admit of no such division. He gives it up therefore as a sufficient test, when independently considered, but he makes these names still the ground-work of his superstructure. Having examined very carefully, we suppose, some of the sections where these names are so used as to admit of being taken as a test, he thinks he perceives such a difference of style as to enable him throughout the whole book of Genesis to distinguish these two writers. These of course must be very few, and those who know any thing of the difficulty of judging from internal evidence as to authorship with any thing like certainty, may determine the value due to criteria deduced, perhaps, from a dozen pages. Few as these criteria must be, few as they are (for Dr Gramberg sums up the style of each author in rather more than a page,) we have serious, and, we think, fatal objections to make to some of them—objections which to our minds entirely vitiate his results. The tests which he gives are of various kinds, some relating to the subject-matter, some to the method of treating similar circumstances, and some to the phrases used respectively by the Elohist and the Jehovist. With regard to the subject-matter, &c. we shall only mention the sort of tests to which he refers, because it is in the part which relates to the use of peculiar phrases that Dr Gramberg's method of proceeding is best displayed. He finds, then, that the Elohist is fond of tautology;—that he is in the habit of attributing late institutions to the earliest times—and even to God himself as their author: *e. g.* the Sabbath in the first chapter of Genesis, &c. For what relates to the internal evidence arising from peculiar phrases, we quote Dr G.'s own words: "*E phrasi bus Elohistæ soli propriis, has tantum notatu dignissimas nominamus.*

"אֱלֹהִים שֶׁדִּי, *Deus omnipotens*, Gen. xvii. 1; xxviii. 3; xxxv. 11; xlviii. 3; xlix. 25.

"פֶּן אֶרֶם, *Mesopotamia*, Gen. xxv. 20; xxviii. 2; xxxi. 18; xxxiii. 18; xxxv. 9, 26; xlviii. 7.

\* See especially chap. xxviii. 16—22; chap. xxxi. xxxix. &c.

“וְנָקְבָהּ, זָכָר, *mas. et femina*, s. זָכָר, *mas.* Gen. i. 2; v. 27; vi. 19; xvii. 10; xxxiv. 15.

“פָּרָה וְרָבָה, *fetificare et augeri*, Gen. i. 22, 28; viii. 17; ix. 1, 7; xxxv. 11; xlvii. 27.’

“Here then is the list of phrases peculiar to the Elohist, and on this list we found our accusation against Dr Gramberg’s theory—that it rests on unsound grounds, on premises proved by conclusions and conclusions resting on those premises. To our proofs therefore. It will readily be granted that where so much is proved out of so few passages, every passage ought to be unexceptionably shown to belong to the memoir in question, *i. e.* to that of the *Elohist*. Let it be remembered that it is not a question about phrases which occur so frequently as to distinguish an author’s style; for the most part these occur scarcely more than five times, and therefore if the *Jehovist* should use them even once, the charm is entirely broken—they are no longer peculiar to the Elohist, and cannot serve Dr Gramberg’s purpose as a test of his style. Let us therefore examine a few of them, beginning with *Padan Aram*, the Elohist’s name for Mesopotamia.

“Genesis xxv. 20.—This passage is followed by two verses which continue the narrative, and in which *Jehovah* occurs twice. Now, because in Dr Gramberg’s wisdom he has determined that no one shall use the name of Padan Aram but the *Elohist*, he attributes (when he comes to his separate discussion of each chapter) these verses to the compiler; and this is done merely to get rid of the use of Padan Aram by the *Jehovist*!

“Genesis xxxv. 9.—Here Padan Aram also occurs, but the difficulty is of a different description. The passage is certainly one where *Elohim* is used, but there is also here a clear reference to a former appearance of God to Jacob, related in ch. xxviii. 10—22. This former section Dr Gramberg attributes to the *Jehovist*, but to what expedient does he resort to explain the reference? He acknowledges (p. 83) that *some story of God’s former appearance to Jacob*

*must have been* given by the Elohist and rejected by the compiler, who received that of the Jehovist!!

"So much therefore for Padan Aram. Out of five passages one is doubtful and difficult, and the other clearly an assumption of Dr Gramberg.

"We now come to the phrase *אל שד* God Almighty. This occurs first in chap. xvii. 1, where the first thing which stares us in the face is the word 'the Lord' in the very same verse. This however Dr Gramberg attributes to the compiler, adding very quietly, that as he had now for many verses been accustomed to the word Jehovah, it dropped in here quite naturally as it were! So much therefore for the second phrase; Dr Gramberg says *it shall be* peculiar to the Elohist, and *he makes it so*.

"We will weary our readers with only one more specimen of this nature; but though last, it is not least.—Although not inclined to attribute much to these slight coincidences, we were rather startled at some of them, and thought the phenomena which they exhibited required some cause to account for them. We were then ignorant how this list was composed. It appears from that list that the above phrases, and the phrase '*male and female*,' are peculiar to the *Elohist*. Our indignation was, we confess, roused when we found this phrase in the middle of a section which he himself attributes to the *Jehovist*. This passage is Genesis, vii. 1—10, and on turning to his more detailed discussion of it (p. 22) we find that he tells us these words were inserted by the compiler and borrowed from the Elohist!!

"Need we add one word more as to arguments dressed up in this fashion? We have more to complain of, but we forbear; the examples which we have given show that Dr Gramberg is not to be relied on: when he broadly states in his list of peculiar words, &c. that such and such phrases are only to be found in one of the documents, we find them in the other, and then see them palmed off upon the compiler by his mere ipse dixit."

---



)

1



